# THE JUL 18 1941 AMERICAN TEACHER

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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

### Important

### Notice to All Members of the American Federation of Teachers

The referendum now being conducted is one of the most important issues ever before the American Federation of Teachers. The decision that is to be made requires the careful consideration of all members and the participation of each. Your individual rights as a member are outlined below:

All voting in referenda is by individual members with each member entitled to cast one vote.

Votes must be cast upon the official ballots furnished by the National Office.

Individual ballots are to be secret.

The officers of the local are charged with the responsibility of distributing these ballots to all members in good standing.

Do not send your ballot directly to the National Office. Ballots are to be collected and tabulated by each local and sent in not later than May 31.

If you are a member of the A.F.T. and do not receive a ballot between March 31 and May 10, you should inquire of the officers of your local concerning your ballot and if you do not receive satisfactory explanation, write immediately to the Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

See back cover for complete regulations governing the referenda.

Irvin R. Kuenzli
Secretary-Treasurer
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

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## The Executive Council's Proposal to Save the AFT

### Introduction

There are more than a million public school teachers in the United States. Should a considerable portion of these unite with organized labor the future of education and democracy would be assured. As it is, the American Federation of Teachers enrolling but a small fraction of the public school teachers exerts great influence because of its affiliation with organized labor.

Our basic strength lies in the confidence with which we are regarded by organized labor, the profession and the general public. The Executive Council is convinced that our continued growth and influence is strongly conditioned by the reputation of the American Federation of Teachers and its locals. We cannot hope to organize any considerable portion of American teachers, nor can we hope to have the confidence and support of organized labor or the general public so long as important locals are in general disrepute.

The Council is in no way critical of any member for his personal beliefs. The entire case of the Council against these locals rests upon the character of their conduct, their strategy and tactics.

The Council is appreciative of the energy and activities of these locals. It is convinced, however, that whatever merit they have had has been largely offset because the methods employed have tended to discredit both the organizations and their activities. We are not unmindful of the growth of the New York unions under the present leadership, but it should be remembered that only about one-half of the membership of Local 5 consists of regularly appointed teachers; thus less than 10 per cent of the regularly appointed teachers of New York City are organized. Nor should we overlook the fact that outside of New York City and Philadelphia the growth of teachers' unions in these regions has been negligible in spite of thousands of dollars spent on organization. The phenomenal growth of the American Federation of Teachers during recent years has been in those areas-Illinois, Indiana and Ohiowhere there has been a minimum of political manipulation.

If the American Federation of Teachers is to conduct a vigorous campaign to protect teachers, schools and democracy, it must not be handicapped with the eternal necessity to deny, to equivocate, or to apologize for Communist influence. Now is the time to free ourselves of this necessity. Now is the time when the liberal democratic forces of Amer-

ica must be united and forthright. So long as the Communist Party is a significant force in the American Federation of Teachers we can be united only under their program. It is, therefore, necessary to eliminate this influence in order to fortify ourselves against reaction. By ridding ourselves of this influence we are wresting from reaction the strongest weapon it has against us. If the Teachers' Union is to have the confidence of the profession, organized labor and the public, and if it is to take its rightful place among the democratic forces of America, we must be invulnerable at this point. For this it cannot hope so long as we carry the moral burden of the Communist Party, its tactics and strategy.

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Since we do not condemn beliefs in themselves but rather practices which are basically undemocratic and anti-trade union, we hereby specify the grounds upon which we make our recommendations that the charters be revoked.

### The Case Against Local 5

The report of the Executive Council's committee appointed in August to deal with the problems of organizing the teachers of New York City and to secure the readmission of Local 5 into the Central Trades and Labor Council was presented to the Executive Council at its regular December meeting. The committee's report, taken together with the intervening actions of Local 5, brought the Council to the inescapable conclusion that nothing less than a thorough investigation of the Local itself could meet the situation. By unanimous vote of all members of the Council an investigation was authorized. The record of this investigation is contained in a verbatim stenotypist's report of 129 pages, copies of which are available for examination in the National Office.

The nature of the material contained in this record was such as to cause the Council to order a hearing for Local 5 on February 15 and 16 to answer the major points which grew out of the investigation and to show cause why its charter should not be revoked. The hearing was held, and Local 5 replied at length. The verbatim stenotypist's report of this hearing contains 244 pages of oral testimony plus a 43-page printed brief submitted by Local 5. This record is also available for examination in the National Office.

Upon the basis of the records of the investigation and the hearing the Council came to the considered (Continued on page 4)

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

# For a United and Effective AFT—Reply of Locals 5, 192, and 537

### Foreword

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The question before you in this referendum is not only the fate of Locals 5, 192, and 537, but also the role of the American Federation of Teachers in the present educational crisis. There is no doubt that the public schools and the very concept of universal, free, democratic education are under severe attack. The enemies of education believe they can turn the war situation to their own ends. The chambers of commerce and similar groups find this a propitious time not only to cut budgets but also to wreck the content of democratic education through attacks on liberal textbooks and to destroy the morale of teachers by witch-hunting investigations.

Local 192 finds further cuts in state aid advocated in Pennsylvania although many schools have already had to be closed for lack of funds; it is engaged in a campaign against a host of "anti-subversive" measures which are so broad in their provisions that they may result in complete destruction of tenure and complete loss of civil rights for teachers. In New York State the State Chamber of Commerce, the State Economic Council and the Taxpayers' Federation have been unusually active. The legislature has before it proposals for cuts in state aid and "anti-subversive" bills similar to those in Pennsylvania. In New York City class consolidations and curricular changes threaten several thousand teachers with unemployment. The Rapp-Coudert Committee, whose main purpose it is to justify cuts in education, is carrying on an investigation which has turned into a veritable witch-hunt.

These attacks on education which we have to meet in New York and Pennsylvania are no doubt repeated in various forms in all parts of the country. In this crisis the Executive Council has turned the energy, time and money of the national organization, and to some extent of the individual locals, to internal disputes. Now it proposes that a large and active section of the American Federation of Teachers be expelled. It has already suspended Local 453. These four large locals constituted the backbone of the opposition to the present Executive Council in the last American Federation of Teachers elections. The suspension of Local 453 and the proposed expulsion of Locals 5, 192 and 537 would reduce the American Federation of Teachers to a routine, machine-run union. It would drastically reduce the American Federation of Teachers in

members and cripple its effectiveness in the fight which it must wage to preserve education.

The three Locals 5, 192 and 537 have prepared a joint statement for the referendum because they believe that all of them, as well as the entire American Federation of Teachers, are equally affected by the proposed purge. They have undertaken to prove the following:

- (1) The American Federation of Teachers, according to official records, was in excellent condition in August, 1940, and needed no such drastic measures as investigations and charter revocation.
- (2) Between 1936 and 1940, the years in which Locals 5, 192, and 537 participated actively in the national work of the American Federation of Teachers along with other locals, were the years of the greatest growth and achievement for the American Federation of Teachers.
- (3) The activities and achievements of these locals individually are proof that they are not "detrimental to democracy in education."
- (4) The democratic functioning of the locals belies the charge of "practices inimical to democracy."
- (5) These locals are not dominated by communist groups or any other groups.
- (6) Healthy relations with the American Federation of Labor will not be established by expulsions of locals and surrender of autonomy.
- (7) The charge of dual unionism made against these locals is completely unfounded.
- (8) The Executive Council, having co-operated with and encouraged small, discredited, factional groups in these locals, brings the spurious charge of factionalism against the responsible officers of the locals, who have the support of the overwhelming majority of the membership.
- (9) To substantiate its charges the Executive Council has reposed complete and unquestioning confidence in the testimony of a small number of members or ex-members of the locals and has rejected the documented statements of accredited representatives presenting the almost unanimous opinion of the membership.
- (10) The Executive Council has resorted to undemoeratic and unconstitutional practices against these locals.

We have been handicapped in preparing this statement because no copy of the proceedings of the February 15 and 16 meeting of the Executive Council was available to us until March 10, and we were required to have our answer in the national office by March 15.

We, who have teaching jobs and who are responsible for the campaigns of our locals, have had four days in which to study the transcripts and prepare a statement. Although we are in the position of having to answer the Executive Council statement against us, we have been refused an opportunity to see in advance the statement of the Council which appears with this. We have no way of knowing which sections of the voluminous transcripts will

(Continued on page 18)

### The Executive Council's Proposal to Save the AFT

(Continued from page 2)

conclusion that the best interests of the American Federation of Teachers would be served by the revocation of the charter of Local 5.

Below we present the five charges against Local 5 with substantiating material based on the record:

### Charge I

"(1) That the internal affairs of the said Local 5 have been so conducted as to bring disharmony to the membership and that factionalism within the Local has resulted in loss of membership through nonpayment of dues and by resignations which have stopped the growth of Local 5 and make it unlikely that said Local can effect a satisfactory organization of the teachers of New York City."

We must see this charge against an historic background. The story of the penetration and control of Local 5 by the Communist Party is a long one. It is a story of disruption, trouble and crisis, one of uninterrupted embarrassment to the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor dating as far back as 1922.

By 1932 political factionalism in Local 5 centering in the Communist Party had reached such serious proportions that a special investigating committee, headed by John Dewey, was elected by the membership of Local 5 to study the problem thoroughly and to make recommendations. The committee held twenty-four meetings of from two to three hours each and heard 109 witnesses. The report of the committee, a frank, exhaustive analysis of the situation in the Local at the time, fully corroborated the charge that factionalism, stemming not from differences on teacher issues within the union but from the fortunes of the Russian Revolution, seriously threatened the existence of the Local. Mr. Hendley, the present President of Local 5, was a member of the committee and signed the report. Anyone desiring a full picture of the situation in Local 5 should study this report in its entirety. Locals or members wishing copies of it may write to the National Office.

Being convinced that the crisis in the Federation today is intimately related to the crisis investigated by the Dewey Committee in 1932, the Executive Council believes that the following passages from the report of that Committee are as relevant now as when they were written:

"The Committee was much impressed with the fact that leaders of the minority groups, especially of the Rank and File (forerunner of the present administration of Local 5), openly expressed the conviction that all sincere believers in any particular political movement would necessarily attempt to use the Union as an instrumentality for promoting their special views."

"Leaders and witnesses for the defendants made light of the suggestion coming from members of the committee that reckless charges of betrayal, arbitrary conduct, reactionism, dishonesty, if continually repeated, might injure the persons attacked and injure the Union, in spite of the fact that the charges may be false."

"Nothing was more instructive to the members of the Committee than the assertion of the leaders of both opposition groups that although they expect finally to come into control of the Union, they do not desire to do so excepting on the basis of the ideologies which they respectively hold."

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"Concealment of the ultimate desire to convert the Union into an organization for carrying on the class war, and the attempt to lead the membership to think that the sole difference is on matters of isolated items of immediate policy, conjoined to the tactics of unscrupulous attacks, can lead only to the bitterness, friction, crimination and recrimination that now exists."

"While therefore it might be personally agreeable to the Committee to avoid any reference to Communism, it is not possible to do so, for the special aims and tactics on particular issues of the opposition groups cannot be understood or put in their proper context without frank discussion of this topic. . . . Before the Committee, as well as at other times and places, the defendants used any reference to the topic of Communism to support a claim that they were subjected to 'red-baiting.'"

#### Claims of Communist Party

From the record of the unique success of the Communist Party in recruiting white-collar workers from 1936-1939 it may be inferred that its bloc in Local 5 grew to substantial size. That in fact it did grow to a size more than sufficient to control the local and dictate its policies is a claim made by the Party itself. The official record of the proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Communist Party of New York State, May 20-23, 1938, contains a report by one J. Mason (presumably a "Party" name and a member of Local 5) introduced as spokesman for the teachers. We quote from his report:

"We have been brought to this realization by watching the growth of our local, Teachers Union Local No. 5. It has grown from about 300\* three years ago to 7,000 today. We also helped set up WPA and College Teachers locals of 1,000 each; and in addition, seven locals upstate. During this time, our fraction of 35 grew to many hundreds. . . . There are several hundred Party members in the Union. This is a big fraction and more than is necessary in our industry, if you wish to call it that. I think about 100 or so would be sufficient to work within the union; and so we have sent our Party members into the apparatus of our Party everywhere, in the Counties, in the Sections, and in the District. You fall over teachers everywhere. In spite of that I think that our fraction will affect the composition of our Party by steady recruiting from among the teachers in the Teachers Union."

If this claim stood alone, no one would take it very seriously. But it does not stand alone. In an affidavit dated March 13, 1941, Manning Johnson, for

<sup>\*</sup>Obviously a printer's error; the size of the local at the time was about 1,300.

many years a member of the Communist Party of the United States and from 1936 to 1938 a member of the national Central Committee of the Party, makes the following statement:

"At a number of meetings of the Central Committee and of the political bureau which I attended, reports were given on the work among teachers, specifically the work of the Communist Party fraction in Locals 5, 537 and 453. Particular emphasis was placed upon the fact that the editorial staff of the New York Teacher, also the executive boards of Locals 5 and 537, were, in the main, controlled by the Communist Party fraction. Moreover, numerous issues among the teachers were used in order to form the basis for the successful establishment of the "united front," that is, issues were utilized to get persons who were not in the Communist Party to work with the Communists to front for them in the Teachers Union.

"The Communist Party policy was to avoid mechanical control through the utilization of non-party persons whom they could influence for leading positions in the unions. Fraction meetings were held on numerous occasions. The work of the Communist Party fraction in the Teachers Unions was discussed with the leaders of the Communist Party. This work of the fraction consisted in recruiting teachers into the party, in spreading Communist propaganda among teachers and students, and formulating methods of how to carry the Party campaigns into the educational system of the State."

Moreover, these two statements do not stand alone. The public record of Local 5 since 1935 bears so unmistakably the imprint of the Communist Party line that the substantial accuracy of these statements cannot be doubted. The subservience of the present administration of the Local to the dictates of Party policy has been unbroken since its appearance at the head of the Rank and File Group a decade ago down to the present time.

#### Public Record of Local 5

At the time of the Dewey investigation in 1932, this group openly advocated and practiced the dual-union policy which at that time was a distinguishing feature of the Party line. It continued to pursue this policy until early in 1935, when the Party, in a sudden about-face discarded its dual-union policy and advocated working within the American Federation of Labor, which it had previously characterized as a "company union."

Between 1932 and 1935, the Rank and File group, whose frankly destructive tactics included attacking Local 5 in the press and at public meetings, organized the Teachers Committee to Protect Salaries, later reconstituted as the Classroom Teachers Groups, and the Unemployed Teachers Association. Within the Union it persistently defended these anti-union organizations and urged collaboration with them.

Early in 1935, immediately after the Communist

Party dissolved its unions, the Rank and File group dissolved the Classroom Teachers Groups and the Unemployed Teachers Association and urged the members of these organizations to join Local 5.

A few months after the Communist Party's switch in trade-union policy, when the Linville-Lefkowitz administration and 800 supporters withdrew from the local, the Rank and File group came into control of Local 5. The new leadership proceeded to manifest an attitude of pious loyalty to the American Federation of Labor in startling contrast with the plainly destructive, dual-union policy it had advocated only a few months before.

The very essence of the relationship between the respective policies of Local 5 and the Communist Party since 1935 is this: Despite the "thousands of actions" of Local 5, the record offers not one instance in which the programs of the two have clashed. In the long period of time in which the Local manifested an extraordinary interest in a host of problems not directly pertaining to teacher interests and an extraordinary readiness to attack the policies and actions of governments, parties, diplomats and politicians, it never once found fault with any of the thousands of actions of the Communist Party, never once found fault with any aspect of the internal life or foreign policies of the Soviet Union. It is also a plain, unchallengeable fact that since the present administration took over in 1935, the official organs of the Communist Party, the "Daily Worker" and the "New Masses," have given unqualified blanket approval to the thousands of actions of Local 5 and the actions of its majority delegates at national conventions of the American Federation of Teachers. The attitude of these publications towards the administration of the Local is one of uninterrupted and vigorous agreement.

The New York Teacher, official monthly magazine of Local 5, is required by executive board ruling to reflect only "adopted union policy." There can, therefore, be no question of its being an official record of the Local's program.

A careful analysis of its columns since 1935 fully substantiates the above statement. The parallel between the New York Teacher and the official line of the Party and its many shifts is complete. During the time that the Communist Party supported Roosevelt, and only during that time, the New York Teacher supported him. When the Communist Party line changed so did the New York Teacher. During the time that the Communist Party supported LaGuardia, and only during that time, the New York Teacher supported him. When the Communist Party supported him, so did the New York Teacher. Yet strangely enough his support of public education by no means came when the New York Teacher supported him, while his lukewarmness to the schools occurred while he was receiving the support of the

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New York Teacher. In short, its support or opposition to LaGuardia seemed to bear little relation to his support or lack of support of the public schools.

The position of the New York Teacher regarding war, collective security and neutrality has shifted with the shift of the line of the Communist Party. Its attitude toward the American Federation of Labor, the American Student Union, and the American League for Peace and Democracy follow the shifting position of the Communist Party. Its positions on world and domestic personalities, issues and events but echo the official positions of the Communist Party.

### Opposition to Nazism Disappears

What distinguished Local 5, from 1936 to 1939, was something more than the astonishing breath of its political activity; it was the impetuosity with which it took a certain side on each of the major controversial questions of the day, the peculiar pattern of bias that colored its program. It was so ardently collective-security, stop-the-aggressor nations, boycott-Nazi-goods, pro-Roosevelt and pro-New Deal as to compel the casual observer to infer, at the very least, deep-rooted conviction and sincerity.

Yet it is possible to record that this entire channel of activity, together with every last vestige of the convictions which seemed to motivate it, disappeared overnight, completely, without trace, immediately after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact! The burning desire to halt fascist aggression, to build the democratic peace front, to boycott Nazi goods, to advance Roosevelt's New Deal program vanished into thin air! A philosophy which, in the course of three years, seemed to penetrate to the very mainsprings of the local's behavior, had dropped out of existence at some point between the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in August, 1939, and the first fall-term meeting of Local 5 in October, 1939.

In the printed statement submitted to the Executive Council at its February 15 meeting in answer to the evidence cited here, Local 5 stated:

"Of the thousands of actions of the Communist Party and the thousands of actions of the Teachers Union, they (the Executive Council) pick three or four which are similar—support of President Roosevelt in 1936, support of New Deal legislation, support of collective security in an attempt to stave off this World War. They fail to mention that the vast majority of Americans supported these policies at the same time."

The statement of Local 5 that "the vast majority of Americans supported these policies at the same time" is cynical in the extreme. The Local advocated these policies only in the strictly delimited period during which they were advocated by the Communist Party, that is, from 1936 to 1939. It did not advocate them before that time. And when the Stalin-Hitler Pact was signed and the war that

Local 5 had sought to "stave off" broke out, the Local was faced with the choice either of continuing to oppose fascist aggression, along with the vast majority of Americans, or of following the example of the Communist Party and discarding its collective security, pro-Roosevelt, pro-New Deal program. It unhesitatingly chose the latter.

It should be clearly understood that the Executive Council questions the right of no local to take any stand on any issue in accordance with good trade unionism. It does question whether any local which is clearly an instrument of an outside political party should be permitted to cast discredit upon the whole cause of teacher unions.

The inevitable result of such a situation is bound to be disharmony and dissension among the membership. While the administration of Local 5 constantly calls for unity, it must be clear that the only unity they can tolerate is unity within the Communist Party line. As a result they drive from the organization those whom they can not bend to their purpose.

### Hundreds of Members Leave Local 5

Witness the exodus of 800 members, including the administration, from Local 5 in 1935, many of whom were instrumental in founding Local 5 and the American Federation of Teachers. Although these members who left Local 5 were then the majority and in control of the union they found it impossible to work in the same local with a minority following the Communist Party line and employing its strategy and tactics.

It is well to point out here that during the period beginning about 1936 up to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact (the so-called Popular Front period) the Communist Party had so watered-down its open program that it could have been accepted in many respects by persons of good will and liberal, humanitarian outlook. This protective coloring well camouflaged the Communist Party and made it difficult for many to see clearly its basic contempt for democratic ideals. However, the Stalin-Hitler pact changed the whole situation and opened the eyes of many to the insincerity of the Party's position.

In the fall of 1940 approximately 200 members of Local 5, co-signing a letter protesting the political control of Local 5, resigned from the Union. At the same time it was disclosed that additional mass resignations had taken place during the preceding months. When, in April, 1940, a resolution opposing President Roosevelt's proposals for national defense was hastily adopted at a membership meeting, approximately 250 resignations followed. In October, 1940, shortly before the resignation of the bloc of 200, Local 5 announced that 241 resignations had taken place during the summer months. It was further announced that 1,600 members were in arrears in dues payments. Of these 650 were more than twelve months in arrears.

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According to the August, 1940, membership report of Local 5 to the National Office, a report not unlike the reports of preceding months running back to the establishment of the Local under the present leadership in 1935, the number of members placed in the lowest category, the category of "less than \$1,000," was 2,406. The total membership reported was 6,348. The number placed in the next category of \$1,000 to \$1,499" was 996. This means that well over one-half of the membership were receiving salaries below the compensation of the lowest paid regular teacher in the New York City system. The salary of a kindergarten or 1A to 6B teacher in the first year of employment is \$1,608. Even clerical assistants are started at \$1,200. Only part-time substitute and evening school teachers receive less than \$1,000.

An analysis of the membership on a base of 6,000 shows 800 to 1,000 not employed by the Board of Education of New York City, 400 to 500 wholly inactive substitutes, 400 to 500 substitutes teaching from one day to somewhat less than a full year, 600 to 700 substitutes teaching approximately a full year, and 3,600 to 3,700 regular teachers. These figures suggest quite clearly that Local 5 has been far less successful in organizing the public school teachers of New York City than is ordinarily believed.

The Council is convinced, moreover, that the record is markedly less impressive than the above figures On January 29, 1941, the Secretaryindicate. Treasurer sent to each of the 6,304 members of Local 5 on the list in the national office—and this list is kept strictly up-to-date in terms of the reports sent in from month to month from the Local-a double postcard. On the return card which was not to be signed, these two questions were printed: "Are you now a member in good financial standing in Local 5" and "If not, when did you last pay your dues?" A total of 2,920 usable replies were received. Of these 608 were negative. This means that approximately 21 per cent of those replying, all on the records of the national as full-fledged members of Local 5, state categorically that they are not members. Of these 14 passed out of good financial standing in 1941, 259 in 1940, 135 in 1939, 67 in 1938, 34 in 1937, and 21 in 1936 or before. Seventy-eight failed to indicate the

The Council wonders about the status of the 3,384 persons not replying. If the same ratio holds, 700 of them are no longer in the Union, making 1,308 altogether. But the Council is strongly of the opinion that the number of non-members in this group is considerably higher than in the other. On February 8, Mr. Hendley addressed a letter to each member of the local as follows:

"Our advice is to answer YES if you are in good standing. Then on the card or in an accompanying letter register your protest against such procedure which tends to spread doubt as to the reliability of our reports to the national office and to intimidate members."

#### Examples of Abuse of Opponents

Mr. Hendley's advice to protest was followed by many, and in language which all critics of Local 5 have frequently encountered in the mails and elsewhere. The following samples will reveal the mentality of the loyal Party member: "I resent these Gestapo tactics of the Executive Board." "I resent this type of questionnaire. Who is backing you in this-Hitler?" "Yes; so what?" "You are giving aid to every enemy of the school system by your methods." "Yes, and what's it to you." "This is the height of insolence." "In whose interest are you doing this? I have heard of stool pigeons and spies breaking up unions for bosses." "Why not investigate my grandfather, too, stinkers?" "And when may we expect constructive work from our so-called leaders of the AFT." "Dear Louse: and if you weren't such a knife-stabbing-in-the-back organization, you would tend to your business." "I certainly am, you snakes."

The meaning of this is clear. The leadership undoubtedly aroused in their followers a sense of urgency to return the postcard. Clearly there was no such sense of urgency aroused among those who had dropped out of the union. The inference seems justified therefore, that, if replies had been received from all 6,304 persons on the list, there would have been more than 1,308 "Noes." In all probability the number would have been nearer 2,000. A further inference seems to be justified, namely, that once a member of Local 5, always a member. It seems probable also that the membership of the Local has been built up through the years by every possible means. Whether this was to impress the New York community or to increase representation at the national convention is not clear. Obviously Local 5 is a very peculiar teachers' union. In spite of its perpetual boasting it certainly enrolls among its members only a small fraction, perhaps 7 or 8 per cent of the regularly appointed teachers of New York City.

When we look at the influence of Local 5 in the organization of teachers in upstate New York the picture is not flattering. Of locals chartered since 1935, only one public school local of ten members remained in good standing at the close of the year, 1940. Of college locals chartered during the same period only three outside New York City with a total membership of 65 remained in good standing at the close of the year 1940. In the state of New York, the total paid up membership outside New York City at the close of the year was only 333. Of these members, 258 belonged to locals established many years ago. Thus the expenditure of more than \$3,000 for organization purposes in the state of New York in the last three years has produced but 75 members outside New York City. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the activities of Local 5 had brought the American Federation of Teachers into such disrepute among teachers that it was impossible to organize them. Moreover, since Locals 5 and 537 have issued leaflets and pronouncements in the name of the New York State Federation of Teachers without even the knowledge of the president of that body, it seems evident that the said locals have used the state organization as a front for their activities.

Thus we see "that the internal affairs of the said Local 5 have been so conducted as to bring disharmony to the membership and that factionalism within the Local has resulted in loss of membership through non-payment of dues and by resignations which have stopped the growth of Local 5 and make it unlikely that said local can effect a satisfactory organization of the teachers of New York City."

### Charge II

"(2) That said Local 5 has disrupted the work of the National Organization and of the several locals thereof in the period following the 1940 convention of the American Federation of Teachers up to the present meeting of the Executive Council (December, 1940) by sending out a large number of general communications to the officers of the several locals and to the Executive Council, which communications have attacked the Executive Council and a sub-committee thereof on the basis of rumors and suspicions not grounded in fact and which have tended to create an atmosphere of hysteria throughout the membership of the American Federation of Teachers."

Because of the conditions in Local 5 above cited, which had led to expulsions of Locals 5, 453, and 537 from the Central Labor Council, and because of the known presence of a large number of union-minded teachers in New York City who could not be organized by the existing locals with their reputed political character, the Executive Council at its August meeting set up a committee to study the problem and propose some solution.

This committee began operations on the principle that the problems might be solved quietly and without public clamor. It realized that this would require the bringing of many new members into the Local and the restoration of the Local to good standing in the Central Trades and Labor Council.

### Work of Committee Hampered by Hostility

In its efforts to deal with the situation the Committee was hampered from the outset by the actions of the leadership of Local 5. It now appears to be clear that the majority in Local 5 and their faction throughout the Federation developed a plan before leaving Buffalo to discredit the new Council and regain control of the Federation at all costs. Letters from defeated vice-presidents to the locals under

their jurisdiction in 1939-40 and ill-concealed efforts to sabotage the work of new vice-presidents reveal the resolve on the part of this faction to refuse to abide by the results of the election. The formation of the so-called "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers," an organization formed largely by the defeated vice-presidents and dual in purpose to the properly constituted authorities of the Federation, demonstrates the desperate and unprincipled character of this faction. (See the case against Local 192.)

From early September the New York Committee of the Council found itself in an intensely hostile atmosphere. Under date of September 5, nine days before the initial convening of the Council's committee, Mr. Hendley issued a letter to the membership of Local 5 announcing the first meeting of the Local on September 13 and giving a strongly biased and somewhat hysterical account of the convention. In this letter, Mr. Hendley virtually declared war on the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and the national Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers. Although the meeting of Local 5 on September 13 was closed to all non-members it was reported in some detail in one and only one New York newspaper-the Daily Worker. Incidentally, it should be stated that this Communist paper behaved throughout this period precisely as if it were the organ of Local 5. As a consequence of these and subsequent acts by the leadership of the Local whatever chances there may have been for improving relationships with the Central Trades were utterly destroyed.

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Developments within Local 5 further hampered the work of the committee. The minority delegates from Local 5 to the convention who had supported the present Council and had taken a stand against Communist domination of the Local found themselves practically ostracized in the Local. At the first meeting they and the people whom they had supported at Buffalo were labelled "reactionaries," "red-baiters," "fascists," and "anti-semites." The situation finally became so intolerable that they resigned from the Local in a body.

Bad faith was imputed to the Council's committee from the beginning. Every effort on the part of its members to deal independently with the several factors in the situation was misrepresented and maligned. The object of the tactics employed by the leadership of Local 5 throughout the autumn seems to have been the creation of a condition of mob psychology among the members. This it did through an uninterrupted campaign of exaggeration, misrepresentation, villification, and falsification—a pattern which the Communist Party has followed wherever it has appeared in the labor movement.

The locals of the Federation themselves are aware of the amount, character and tone of these communications. The Executive Council, on the other hand, sensitive to its responsibility for the effective functioning of the whole international and its locals, refrained from entering into controversy, until it became clear that Local 5 seemed committed like a spoiled child to having its own way irrespective of consequences. The manner of the officers of Local 5 at the meetings in Chicago convinced the Council that they were trying to provoke the Council to take drastic measures which might discredit it, and thereby restore control to them.

### Charge III

"(3) That publicity coming from the political and other activities of said Local 5 has resulted in loss of members throughout the national organization and tends to bring the American Federation of Teachers into disrepute."

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The affairs of Local 5 are the constant subject of headlines and front page news in the New York Daily Press. The clippings in the National Office on the New York locals are too voluminous to specify, much less quote. This constant barrage of publicity regarding Local 5 has seriously prejudiced the profession and the public against teacher unions. Locals throughout the country are faced with the problem of holding and organizing the profession into their ranks against this serious handicap. Not only does this publicity make it difficult to organize teachers; it seriously impairs the confidence of the public in teacher unionism. The respective locals of the American Federation of Teachers can not hope to accomplish their tasks so long as this condition exists.

### Charge IV

"(4) That delegates of said Local 5 have been suspended from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, said suspension having occurred in March of 1938; and that efforts of said Local 5 and of officers and committees of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers to secure reinstatement in said body have been unavailing; and further that the President of the American Federation of Labor has stated that in his opinion the action taken by the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity in suspending the delegates of Local 5 was fully justified because of the conduct of this Local, and that it is his opinion that Local 5 cannot as now constituted become affiliated with the said Central Trades and Labor Council."

In March, 1938, Local 5 was suspended from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity on the charge of "attempting to interfere with the functions of the Central Trades and Labor Council." Without the support or at least the good will of this body which represents close to one million members of organized labor, the

American Federation of Teachers cannot prosper in New York City. The special committee appointed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers in August, 1940, to assist Local 5 in securing reinstatement in the Central Trades reported that "according to statements made to members of the committee by officers of the central body, the suspension was the result of a long series of acts by the delegates from Local 5 in the meetings of the Council and of acts by recognized representatives of the Union before the public in the city and state."

On March 6, 1941, on the recommendation of the Educational Committee, the following resolution was passed unanimously by the New York Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers has recommended to the membership of the Federation that the charters of Local 5 and Local 537 be revoked by referendum; and

WHEREAS, This action confirms and supports the action taken in 1938 and 1939 by the Central Trades and Labor Council in suspending the said Locals; and

WHEREAS, The said Locals through their political activities over a long period of time have been an embarrassment to the Central Trades and Labor Council and to the entire American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said Locals through their activities in the course of the years have alienated the sympathy and support of progressive forces and friends of public education in New York City and State; and

WHEREAS, The said Locals have therefore thoroughly discredited themselves as defenders of public education in New York City and State; and

WHEREAS, The said Locals have proved themselves incapable of effectively organizing the teachers of New York City and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, The Central Trades and Labor Council is deeply concerned over the future of public education and is desirous of having in New York City and vicinity a powerful organization of teachers as a part of the labor movement; therefore be it

Resolved: That the Central Trades and Labor Council express its complete approval of the action taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers; and be it further

Resolved: That upon the revocation of the charters of said Locals the Central Trades and Labor Council extend its full support to the American Federation of Teachers in its effort to establish new locals in harmony with the principles of democracy and the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

Resolved: That copies of this resolution be sent to President George Counts of the American Federation of Teachers, to President Thomas Lyons of the New York State Federation of Labor and to President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

Resolved: That President Counts be urged to send copies of this resolution to all locals of the American Federation of Teachers in order that the entire membership may know how the Central Trades and Labor Council views the New York situation and the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers.

### Charge V

"(5) That the leadership of said Local 5 has engaged in certain organized tactics and practices inimical to democracy."

The Executive Council has charged the adminis-

tration of Local 5 with practices inimical to democracy in education. To this charge the Local has cited its democratic procedures and contended that it is the most democratic union in the Federation. To this defense the answer today is the same as it was at the time when the Dewey committee held its hearings. The pattern of behavior developed by the Communist Party in democratic organizations is the antithesis of true democracy.

There is first of all the secret Party caucus—a relatively small and highly disciplined group definitely organized and directed to "put over" the Party line. The success of the caucus in the Local has been truly astounding. According to J. Mason, quoted above at the New York Communist Party Convention in 1938, 100 party members is enough to dominate and control a union of 7,000 teachers. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, but anyone familiar with the operation of the Party in voluntary organizations knows that the statement contains a large measure of truth.

The ingenuity of the Party caucus in simulating and exploiting democratic practice is one of its distinguishing characteristics. It is particularly adept in maintaining the forms while violating the spirit of democracy. Thus the leadership of Local 5 succeeded again and again in suddenly shifting the program of the local in accordance with the shifts in the Communist Party line with little visible impairment of the technique of democratic procedure.

#### Disrespect for Democratic Spirit

By no means invisible, however, was the essential disrespect of the democratic spirit as revealed in the methods employed by the leadership of the Local in debate on crucial issues. Highly emotional appeals for "unity" in the face of the great dangers confronting democracy, the public school, and the Union were invariably coupled with the charge that all opponents were directly or indirectly associated with, aiding or abetting, or playing into the hands of the worst enemies of democracy, of the public school and of the Union. Outspoken critics of the Local's activities, no matter how high and spotless their reputation for progressive labor-mindedness, were indiscriminately consigned to the category of "our enemies." Singularly adept at enveloping key issues in an atmosphere of hysteria, intolerance and intimidation, the leaders of Local 5 contrived to throw every possible obstacle in the way of sober, objective consideration of vital questions. Some of the particular violations of the democratic process and spirit in which this political faction in Local 5 and in the Federation has engaged for years may be set down as follows:

- (1) The villification of the character of critics and opponents.
  - (2) The systematic and deliberate misrepresenta-

tion of the activities and policies of critics and opponents.

- (3) The blackmailing of potential critics and opponents through the threat of villification.
- (4) The pursuit of purposes external to the interests of the Union and the deliberate concealment of these purposes.
- (5) The subordination of the interests of the Union to ends incompatible with the interests of the Union.
- (6) The building and breaking of individual reputations in terms of the interests and purposes of a political party.
- (7) The creation of an organized claque (witness the organized applause at recent conventions) for purposes of interfering with deliberation, prejudicing judgment, intimidating opponents, and swaying decisions.
- (8) The making of an external political ideology the base line of judgment of individuals, groups, policies and practices under the guise of evaluations in terms of specific consequences.
- (9) The labelling of any expression of criticism or difference as "baiting" and of thus demanding under threat of personal villification immunity from necessary and wholesome public criticism and analysis
- (10) The systematic cultivation of suspicion and hostility through imputation of insincerity and ulterior motives to critics and opponents.
- (11) The irresponsible and insincere espousal of popular causes in order to gain political favor and power.
- (12) The exploitation of humanitarian and progressive causes for the promotion of ulterior political purposes.
- (13) The transformation of relatively superficial and temporary differences into irreconcilable and lasting cleavages and antagonisms.
- (14) The defense of civil liberties only in terms of their own purposes and for those who accept those purposes. (Witness the opposition to a resolution in 1937 condemning the persecution of Fred Beal. He was then in disfavor with the Communist Party although it had formerly espoused his cause.)
- (15) The acceptance of the basic ethic that the end justifies the means.

Since making the original finding of opinions on the basis of the December investigation the Executive Council has been faced with another of the typical tactics referred to in Charge No. V which caused the Council to include in its resolution adopted following the hearing on February 15 and 16 the following:

"WHEREAS, it appears that the Teachers Union of the City of New York, Local 5, has aided, abetted, maintained and assisted in the maintenance of an organization known as the 'Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers,' the purposes of which organization are dual to the functions of the American Federation of Teachers and its Executive Council; and by so doing has impeded and in the future will seriously impede the constitutional functions of the American Federation of Teachers and its Executive Council, and in so doing has shown complete disregard for the democratic procedure set up in the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers."

Since this aspect of the case is dealt with fully in the Council's statement regarding Local 192, we refer you to that statement.

### Final Word On Local 5

Whenever faced with criticism the leadership of Local 5 boasts of the great activity of the Local. That it has been extremely active is beyond question. In fact it is engaged continuously in an almost abnormal, a feverish activity. The Council is of the opinion, however, that a great part of this activity is spurious, that much of it is actually harmful. Thus through its activities it has gradually taken itself out of the American Federation of Labor in New York City and alienated powerful liberal and progressive forces in the community. Today it stands almost completely isolated except for the support of the Communist Party, Communist-led unions, and fellow-traveller personages and organizations.

Upon the basis of the foregoing the Executive Council therefore recommends that the membership vote for the revocation of the charter of Local 5.

### The Case Against Local 537

The case against Local 537 can be stated briefly. The great part of that case has already been made. As the college section of Local 5 until it achieved independent status in 1938, it is scarcely to be distinguished in outlook, policy or affiliation from the parent local. J. Mason quite properly speaks of it as the creature of "our Teachers Union, Local 5." Also Manning Johnson in his affidavit invariably links Local 537 with Local 5. The Council is convinced that the Communist Party has dominated the one as completely as it has the other. If either charter is revoked, both should be revoked. The health and development of the Federation in the New York situation requires this action.

### Part I

(1) In February, 1939, Local 537 was suspended from the Central Trades and Labor Council. The fundamental reason for this action was the political activities of the local. Again, as in the case of Local 5, there is no chance whatsoever for reinstatement under the present leadership or as now constituted.

(2) Local 537 has lost whatever support it ever had among the liberal college teachers of the city. This is revealed in a number of recent events. The December forum on Youth, Higher Education, and War is illustrative.

Kenneth D. Benne, a liberal member of the Program Committee, obtained apparent agreement in the committee to invite as speakers persons of diverse points of view on the problems of war and peace. Those who actually appeared on the date of the forum were overwhelmingly supporters and advocates of the Communist Party line.

A well-informed observer states that twenty-five of the twenty-eight speakers followed the Communist Party line in regard to war and peace. Mr. Benne, after the conference, criticized the selection and asked for an explanation. Was the selection due to a desire for a one-sided treatment of the subject? Or was it due to the fact that few people representing other points of view would accept invitations from Local 537? In either case the inference is devastating.

### Outstanding Educators Resign From Union

Corroborative evidence is found in resignations from the local. Among those leaving the union may be listed such outstanding educators as John Dewey, John L. Childs, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sidney Hook, George W. Hartmann, Louis Hacker, and Wesley Clair Mitchell. Many others have left because of dissatisfaction with Communist control. The following letter of resignation by Philip Smith, chairman of the Chapter of Townsend Harris High School, a subsidiary of City College, states the case clearly and vigorously:

"The political orientation of the majority group now running the Union should be an irrelevant matter. It is not. I cannot, with self-respect, voluntarily belong to a labor union run by people whose primary loyalties arouse in me only contempt or, at best, a profound distrust. To work with an organization, I have to trust it. Here the surest fact of all is that most of the membership and most of the executive board are more concerned with fitting their actions to the requirements of the Communist Party line than with any other matter. This obvious relationship to one of the major anti-democratic forces of our modern world I cannot ignore or assume to be irrelevant. Liberals can no longer afford to be naive.

There is one chief regret attached to this decision to resign. Some enemies of democracy in education and of the labor movement may gain a small satisfaction at the thought of one more loss to the Union. However, they were always enemies and they always will be—and this I do know. But I cannot fight them successfully with one hand tied behind my back."

Additional evidence indicating the isolation of Local 537 is the fact that large numbers of union-minded teachers will not enter the Local because of its reputation for Communist domination. On one local campus recently a petition was circulated for a few hours among the faculty calling for the establishment of a liberal college teachers union in the New York area. Twenty names were secured. This was a greater number than the entire chapter of Local 537 on the campus.

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In Hunter College, union proposals are so suspect that they are indiscriminately opposed. This opposition occurs even though the opponents could in many instances be counted upon to support similar measures under different auspices.

The Local is out of touch with liberal organizations. The record shows a complete lack of expressions of sympathy or collaboration with such liberal groups as the Committee for Cultural Freedom, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the League for Industrial Democracy. At the same time evidence of continuous and sympathetic collaboration with well-known Communist innocent organizations is abundant.

Outstanding is the fact, also, that in this period of serious reaction Local 537 does not stand out as the leader and co-ordinator of liberal forces in the cofleges. The Local does not crystallize these forces and direct them into effective channels. It is suspect everywhere. It is even widely regarded in liberal circles as a danger to public higher education in New York City.

(3) Local 537 has lost the confidence of liberal students. There is no evidence of association with student groups other than those which are widely reputed to be Communist-dominated. Partiality in this respect severs union connections with strong groups on the campuses of the New York City colleges. As a consequence the Local is not able to exercise liberal student guidance of a general character. If this were the only difficulty, the situation would not be so bad. At one city college, at any rate, there is some evidence that members of the Local incited student groups to demonstrate in a way which eventually lost them the respect of the faculty and the general student body. Telegrams. telephone calls, interruptions of classes, and excessive picketing aroused anger rather than liberal support. Union members could serve to foster liberal student opinion and direct it into constructive channels. Union leadership becomes suspect when it is known to enforce a single point of view.

(4) The membership of Local 537 like that of Local 5 seems to be largely composed of persons who are not regularly assigned full-time teachers. It is interesting to note that for a number of years Local 537 has paid for approximately 40 per cent of its membership at the ten-cent rate in spite of the fact that no regularly assigned full-time teacher in any of the New York Colleges receives less than \$1,000 per year. For the month of January, 1941, Local 537 paid for 44.6 per cent of its membership at the ten-cent rate and 53 per cent at the ten- and fifteencent rates. Only 22 per cent of the members are reported at more than \$2,500 in a city which has the highest college salary schedule in the nation. Obviously Local 537 is a very peculiar college teachers' union.

### Part II

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The basic cause of the failures of Local 537, as already stated is the reputed domination by the Communist Party. The rush of evidence in recent months is supporting this view.

There has long been a consensus of opinion among informed and liberal people that the local is under Communist control. The prestige of those who firmly hold this belief is too great to be dismissed lightly. Since the resignation of John Dewey in 1935, many eminent teachers and scholars of highest integrity have followed him out of the Union. In February, 1941, twenty-five prominent New York City educators, including John Dewey and many others of like standing in their professions, issued to the New York Times a statement expressing their belief that the local is under Communist control.

One may cite also the fact that when Professor John L. Childs had difficulty with the Teachers Union he was urged to consult Earl Browder and clear up the "misunderstanding." Other members of the Union having grievances have been given similar advice. Most persons close to the situation are convinced that Local 537 is even more rigidly controlled by the Communist Party than Local 5.

The method of Communist control of the local has been revealed from time to time by former Party members. First, every Party member on the college staff becomes a member of the Union as a Party obligation or assignment. The Party members of the Local meet regularly and often in their units. At these meetings, usually under the guidance of the Party line or leaders of the Party, they discuss, among other things, the affairs of the Union and all important questions to come before the Union. Coming to a Union meeting prepared beforehand and working as a united bloc, they scatter themselves through the hall. The responsibility for presenting the Party position is delegated to certain leaders. If some unanticipated issue is brought before the Union, the Party members present take their cues from the Party leaders and vote accordingly. So effective has this technique proved that, according to the statements of former Party members, the Party has always had its way in Local 537 on issues which it has deemed important.

Some of the more specific results of this control should be briefly touched upon. Among these are undemocratic practices which involve excessive centralization of Union matters in the hands of the executive board; practical control of membership meetings by the Party caucus; insistence upon biased presentation of controversial issues; and the many practices already outlined in the analysis of Local 5.

### Part III

A statement written by the Executive Board of the Local or its president concerning the achievements of the Union recalls advertisements of real estate developments in Florida in the palmiest days. There is scarcely anything that the Union has not succeeded in doing.

One of the major "achievements" is democratic organization and functioning. It is true that Local 537 has a democratic constitution, including proportional representation. But it is decidedly untrue that Local 537 functions democratically within its constitu-Soviet Russia claims the "most tional structure. democratic constitution in the world." Among the types of undemocratic functioning are the caucus controls, the biased Union paper, the one-sided official reports, the opposition to minority action, and the use of pressure tactics to silence all legitimate opposition. No man's reputation is safe if he attacks the majority or the Party. Some of the finest educators in the country have been literally pilloried in membership meetings.

The Local lays claim to the tenure law and the democratic organization by-laws under which the city colleges now operate. These claims are made in spite of the fact that many committees and groups as influential as the Teachers Union both contributed suggestions from which the tenure and organization bylaws developed and exercised important influence in securing their adoption. In fact, opposition to Union suggestions was so great that the tenure law was almost defeated in Albany by the bitterness of the Queens College faculty against "Communist Teachers Union" control. The Union claims also to have performed successful work in defending salaries, to have held successful forums, and to have secured the respect of liberals. Examination of statement signed by so-called liberals supporting Local 537 reveals that the same persons invariably sign these statements. And they are the same people who sign statements issued by other Communist front organizations. They do not represent any considerable support on the part of genuine liberal opinion in the metropolitan area.

### Work of Local 537 Hampered by Reputation

Local 537 has failed in the performance of legitimate Union functions; and it has failed because of apparent Communist domination. The constructive achievements of the Local have not been great; unjustified claims have been laid to achievements accomplished in large measure by other organizations. The local is losing the respect of the Board of Higher Education in New York City. It is rapidly losing its prestige in all quarters except those which are sympathetic to Communist causes. It is supported today only by sentimentalists and confused liberals who feel that the underdog is always right.

Recently in New York a committee of distinguished liberals discussed for many hours the various possible solutions of the Union situation created by Locals 5 and 537. Unanimously they came to the conclusion that the only reasonable solution was revocation of the charters. The sentiments of the group were expressed in the following statement:

Public education in our country now confronts a difficult situation. On the one hand, it is hard pressed to get the funds required to provide essential educational services for all the children of the nation. On the other hand, it is attacked by powerful groups which for one reason or another seek to restrict freedom of teaching in this period of social conflict and transition. We believe that the right kind of Teachers Union could do much to strengthen American publie education in this two-fold struggle for freedom and for adequate financial support. Unfortunately, the two New York Locals, although including in their membership many honest supporters of democracy and education, have been brought under the domination of Communist forces which have worked under cover to fashion these organizations into tools for their party purposes. As a result of this Communist monopolization and control, these Locals have not only lost the confidence of organized labor and of large numbers of teachers in the schools and colleges of New York City but also of the general public, without whose support the Union cannot accomplish anything substantial. Hence, the net effect of their work in the last few years has been to endanger, not to strengthen, public education.

If, as a result of this referendum, these charters are revoked, the American Federation of Teachers will have opened the way for bona fide teachers unions in New York City. We hope, therefore, that friends of democracy and education will not be misled by attempts that are being made to confuse thought and to conceal the real issues involved in this

This statement well expresses the conviction and the hope of the Executive Council.

### The Case Against Local 192

The decision of the Executive Council to submit to the membership the proposal to revoke the charter of Local 192, Philadelphia, by referendum was made after hearing a report of an investigating committee and after consideration of the material presented by the committee upon which the report was based.

The record of Local 192 during the past few years shows in addition to many accomplishments the Local has engaged in and is engaging in practices which are detrimental to the development of democracy in education and to the further organization of teachers. Evidence of this includes the minutes of the Local's membership meetings and those of its executive board, the Local's publications, written opinion of prominent members and past officers of the Local, communications from members of the American Federation of Teachers from elsewhere in Pennsylvania, and material concerning the local and its officers in the public press.

During this time the confidence and support of teachers within the Local itself have been gradually destroyed as evidenced by loss in membership and the formation of significant groups within the Local which appear to be rightfully dissatisfied with certain of its policies and the mode of its operation. The actions taken by Local 192 in recent years have gradually undermined the confidence of teachers, labor, and the public, in Local 192. The details are almost identical

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with those found in Locals 5 and 537.

In order to appraise the situation in Philadelphia with regard to the possible future growth of the Local, Harry R. Hazel, long a member of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 279, Cleveland, Ohio, was sent into Philadelphia as organizer by the Executive Council's committee on organization.

#### Local 192 Loses Confidence of Teachers

In Philadelphia he found that it was not only extremely difficult to get teachers to join the Union, but that many members were resigning from Local 192. Further the leaders of organized labor in Philadelphia expressed the general opinion that the activities of Local 192 had alienated the sympathies of the teachers of the city, the labor movement, and the public and that the basic cause of this alienation of sympathies was the general conviction that the Local was under the domination of the Communist Party.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers has been dominated by Local 192 through control of strategic offices and disregard of the constitution. This domination has resulted in a similar loss of confidence by teachers in the many locals throughout the state. This is evidenced by the fact that out of a total of 33 locals chartered in Pennsylvania during the past five years only 9 remained in good standing at the end of the year 1940. The total membership of all locals outside of Philadelphia and Erie (which were established many years ago) at the end of the year 1940 was only 103. It is evident, therefore, that the growth in membership in Pennsylvania has been negligible in spite of the expenditure of several thousand dollars for organization purposes and the employment of a full time organizer for approximately one year. This is true notwithstanding the fact that the right of teachers to organize is protected in Pennsylvania by one of the strongest tenure laws in the nation and that the organized labor movement is a powerful force in the state.

One cause for this loss in membership came from certain of the programs and activities of Local 192 and of its prominent members. These led teachers to believe that the Local was being influenced and manipulated in the interest of the Communist Party. An objective study of the Communist Party program and practices would convince most persons that Communist Party influences would certainly be detrimental to the development of democracy in education and to democracy generally.

#### Communist Party Influence in Local 192

Evidence of Communist Party domination of Local 192 has come to the attention of members of the Local and to the labor movement. The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia in January instituted an investigation into the question of Communist influence in the Local. When the Executive Council of the AFT re-

quested that the investigation and report be held in abeyance pending the result of the referendum the President of the Central Labor Union stated: "the evidence which has been submitted to the investigating committee is of such a nature as to make it necessary and mandatory to continue the investigation."

In its issue of January 22, the Philadelphia Record reports as follows:

"A study of back copies of the Philadelphia Teacher on file at the Public Library by a reporter for the Record showed that charges that the magazine changed its editorial policy with the changing of "the party line" are apparently justified. j

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#### SURVEY OF PUBLICATION

The study showed:

(1) That the magazine printed its first article attacking Fascism immediately after the Communist party announced its "united front" policy following the Communist Internationale meeting in 1935.

(2) That while the *Philadelphia Teacher* kept up almost a steady barrage against Fascism and Nazism after 1935, it suddenly stopped the attack after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, and not one article against the two "isms" has been printed since that time.

(3) That the magazine indorsed collective security before the Communist-Nazi pact but has adopted an isolationist policy since, a tactic followed by the *Daily Worker* and other Communist party organs.

(4) That the Philadelphia Teacher first printed laudatory articles about New Deal social legislation, indorsed New Deal candidates in elections, but has been silent on the New Deal within the past eighteen months. In issues just prior to the last Presidential election—hottest election in the nation's history—the magazine failed to print one line mentioning it.

(5) That the magazine gave much space reporting the activities and urging support of Communist-dominated organizations like the American League for Peace and Democracy and the National Negro Congress.

(6) Although the most important resolution passed at August's AFT national convention was one denouncing Nazism, Fascism and Communism, there was no mention of this in the magazine's report of the convention.

Every article or editorial printed in the Philadelphia Teacher must be approved by the executive council.

A study of the Philadelphia Teacher and of the activities of Local 192 under the direction of the Executive Council fully corroborates the statement in the Philadelphia Record. Also its findings are in practically complete agreement with the findings of the study of the New York Teacher and the activities of Local 5 in relation to the Communist Party. Thus, on no question of war and peace, of domestic and foreign policy has Local 192 deviated from the line of the Party. Also in no single instance has the local subjected to criticism any act or policy of the Communist Party or the Soviet Government. All of this, in spite of the fact that during these years the local was extremely active politically and took positions on a multitude of public questions. To give this correspondence with the Party line on collective security and isolation, or democracy and fascism, on Roosevelt and the New Deal, on support of Communist front organizations would be to repeat the problem already presented in the case

against Local 5. Likewise the undemocratic tactics and practices reported there obtain in the case of Local 192.

Knowledge of these facts on the part of the membership of the Local, the teaching profession, organized labor, and the general public has led to the discrediting and isolation of the union and to a catastrophic loss of members. Of 2,200 teachers who had joined the Local only 800 were paid up to within half a year last November. Since the institution of the investigation by the Central Labor Union great numbers have either sent in resignations or refused to pay dues.

Since 1935, when the present administration came into power in Local 5, Locals 192 and 5 have engaged in so many similar activities paralleling the line of the Communist Party that they have been linked together in the minds of teachers, labor, and the general public. This has accentuated the detrimental effects in both localities, which are geographically close.

#### Local 192 Launches Dual Movement

Perhaps the most serious action of Local 192 of recent date has been the initiation of a dual movement within the American Federation of Teachers. The president of Local 192, under the authorization of its executive board, called a meeting of Locals on the Eastern seaboard, held in New York City on January 18. This conference set up an organization called "The Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers." This organization seeks to usurp the functions of the duly elected Executive Council and the functions of the American Federation of Teachers. As evidence of this we set forth the following facts which are taken from the records of the minutes of the Local and from documents issued by the dual organization.

The minutes of the Executive Board of Local 192 for its meeting held January 15, 1941, contain the following: "By a vote of 21 to 1, the Board authorized Mrs. Grossman to send a call to locals on the Eastern seaboard to a conference to be held in New York on January 18 to discuss the condition of the American Federation of Teachers."

Upon the Executive Board of Local 192 rests the direct responsibility for the initiating of the conference from which the dual committee developed. Local 192 as a whole shares this responsibility by having given tacit approval to the action through the failure of its membership to censure its president for having called the meeting, or to criticize its Executive Board for having authorized the call, although the members were informed of the action through the minutes of the Executive Board and through announcements in the press.

Members disagreeing with the formation of the committee and opposed to the actions of the Executive Board and the president attempted to bring the matter before the membership at the meeting of February 7 by asking that the issue be placed upon the agenda of the meeting and by raising it from the floor, but were unsuccessful in both instances. Local 192 was apparently well satisfied with the actions taken.

About the beginning of February, a leaflet was in circulation entitled "Education and Democracy in Crisis" issued by the "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" and clearly illustrating and indicating its dual character.

An analysis of the document mentioned above substantiates this point.

First: The "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" makes a brief analysis of "Education and Democracy in Crisis" and the threat to the "Free School System . . ."

Second: It proposes a fourteen point "Program for American Education."

Third: It charges that the Executive Council has put forth "no program for the defense and extention of education . . ."

(Note: See March issue of the American Teacher for the extensive program of the Executive Council in preparation since last September.)

Fourth: It charges that the Executive Council "have abdicated their leadership."

Fifth: It says that "a group of representatives of American Federation of Teacher locals met in New York City on Saturday, January 16, 1941, to discuss the situation and to devise a program for the correction of the Council's deficiencies." (Our emphasis.)

Sixth: It sets forth three objectives of the Committee, among which are:

(1) "The development of national and local programs to protect and expand democratic education and free teaching. To provide real leadership in every area in the country for teachers and parents in legislative and community programs for education. (Our emphasis.)

(Note: This is direct usurpation of the functions of the AFT and its locals.)

(2) "To defend locals from attacks—whether from within or without the American Federation of Teachers . . ." (Our emphasis.)

(Note: We do not deny their right to defend locals from attacks "from within" the AFT but to defend from attacks "from without" on a national scale is a function of the AFT itself.

Seventh: It proposes among other things that the "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" do the following:

- (1) publish a "pamphlet on Education in America today"
- (2) retain a "legal staff"
- (3) employ an "Executive Secretary"

(Note: These are distinct duplications of functions of the AFT and are in conformity with the intentions enumerated above to promote a dual movement with an independent educational and legislative program throughout the country.)

Eighth: It has established a "National Committee" of eleven persons.

(Note: Seven of these were defeated candidates for the Executive Council at the 1940 convention. This "National Committee" is presumably to have general charge of the work of the "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" and is clearly a duplication of the National Executive Council.)

To anyone familiar with the functions and operations of a trade union, it is apparent that an organization has been set up within the American Federation of Teachers which seeks to usurp the functions of the Executive Council and the entire organization. Local 192 has played a central role in the setting up of this dual movement and in giving it support.

Ample provisions exist within the American Federation of Teachers for locals or groups of locals to initiate and attempt to further such propositions as they may care to make through the annual conventions of the national organization and through referenda of the membership. Local 192 has always

had adequate representation at national conventions and has participated in and assisted in initiating several referenda. It cannot therefore plead ignorance of the constitutional privileges and provisions available to it.

No trade union worthy of the name can tolerate such disruptive and divisive tactics as would be operative within the American Federation of Teachers if the "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" were allowed to continue.

The Executive Council believes that Local 192 through the actions presented here, instituted, aided, abetted, and assisted in the maintenance of the organization known as "The Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" whose existence is detrimental to the future development and growth of the American Federation of Teachers as a democratically controlled trade union, and that Local 192 did further so conduct itself in a manner not in harmony with the principles of the American Federation of Teachers, that it has tended to bring the American Federation of Teachers into disrepute.

By reason of the above, the Executive Council recommends to the membership of the American Federation of Teachers that the charter of Local 192 be revoked and that members vote for the revocation of the charter of Local 192 in the referendum now before them.

### Conclusion

The teaching profession is more immediately dependent upon the confidence, respect and good will of its public than is any other profession.

The strength of the American Federation of Teachers is based upon the confidence, respect, good will and co-operation of organized labor. The American Federation of Teachers can organize the profession only as the profession has confidence in its undivided devotion to the cause of democracy and of education. The influence and power of locals in their respective communities are dependent upon the confidence of the community and of organized labor in the local itself and in the American Federation of Teachers. The American Federation of Teachers can reasonably hope to become one of the larger and more influential unions in the American Federation of Labor, once it secures the full confidence of organized labor, the profession and the public.

Successful organization of the teaching profession would be of the greatest value to the future of democracy and of education in America.

The tactics, strategy and psychology of the Communist Party are carefully shaped to the end of power for the Communist Party. Dedicated as it is to the workers' revolution and to the "dictatorship of the proletariat," (by which it means the dictatorship of the Communist Party) it employs whatever means may serve this end. It is, therefore, an acknowledged part of its program to seize and exploit any organization it can control, or to wreck any it cannot, to build up personalities who serve its ends and to destroy all who oppose it. Masters of the arts of rhetoric, sophistry and parliamentary tactics, a strong minority of party members and their followers may gain control of a democratically organized local if the membership is not alert to the problem and aware of their designs. Having gained control of the organization they proceed to administer it with all the appearances of democracy, at the same time effectively destroying the spirit, and use it to their partisan ends.

Tactics and strategy based upon the psychology of irreconcilable conflict are so opposed and contrary to the method and spirit of democracy that they result in constant internal dissension and thereby bring the organization and the activities with which they are associated into general disrepute. Under such circumstances it is futile to hope for continued growth or influence in any American community.

Although it is exceedingly difficult to unmask

Communist Party members because of their resort to anonymity, their practice of conspiracy and their predilection to falsification, we are convinced of the domination of Locals 5, 537 and 192 by the Communist Party. There was space in this statement for but very few of the many evidences we have of this domination. Those cited, however, are so compelling as to leave little actual question on this issue.

Definite influence of the Communist Party in substantial locals of the American Federation of Teachers at any time seriously obstructs its continued growth and effectiveness, save among Party members and sympathizers. It destroys the confidence of the profession, of organized labor and of the public in us. Today particularly to be equivocal on this issue would be fatal. The fanatical devotion of the Party to the policy of the Soviet Government, by creating dissension within and loss of confidence without, threaten the destruction of the Federation as a part of the trade union movement. The philosophy, psychology, tactics, strategy and purpose of the Communist Party are in their

very nature opposed and contrary to democracy and to the independence of the American Federation of Teachers.

The Executive Council does not desire to shirk its responsibility in dealing with this matter but this issue is so fraught with consequence for the members of the American Federation of Teachers, of organized labor, and the future of democracy and of education in America, that the Executive Council believes the entire membership should be aware of the problem and assume ultimate responsibility for its solution. Consequently we urgently recommend the revocation of the charters of Locals 5, 537 and 192.

Failure to follow this recommendation, we believe, will place the stamp of the Communist Party indelibly and irrevocably upon the entire American Federation of Teachers. This can only mean the death of the Federation.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS GEORGE S. COUNTS, STANTON E. SMITH, GEORGE E. AXTELLE, Editing Committee

### Statement of Council on Legality of Referenda

The argument has been raised by some that the action of the Executive Council ordering a referendum on the proposals to revoke the charters of Locals 5, 537 and 192 is an attempt to evade the constitutional provisions for revoking charters and to avoid the requirement that the revocation of a charter by the Executive Council must be sustained by a two-thirds vote of the convention if the local appeals. This simply is not so. A careful reading of the constitution as a whole will convince anyone of the complete legality as well as the wisdom of the Council's action.

Article IV of the AFT Constitution is definitive of the powers of the Executive Council in granting and revoking charters. It places certain limitations on the Executive Council both as to the granting of charters and as to the revocation of charters. One of the limitations on the power of the Council to revoke a charter or suspend or expel a local is that such action, if appealed, must be sustained by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

An issue as crucial as this would undoubtedly be carried from the convention to a referendum irrespective of the action of the convention. Under the provisions of Article XII, Section 1, it will be seen that any action of a convention can be carried to referendum "by request of ten or more locals representing not less than 10 per cent of the members then in good standing, or by petition signed by not less than 10 per cent of the members." This definitely establishes that the general membership is the highest authority of the AFT. It is our belief that the ultimate decision in these cases will be by referendum regardless of intermediate steps.

The right of the Executive Council to initiate a referendum to revoke these charters is clear. Article IV does not state, nor does it imply, that the method of revocation set out in that Article is exclusive and the only procedure which may be followed.

Note particularly that in these cases the Executive Council has not revoked the charters but has recommended to the general membership that they be revoked. If they are revoked it will be by the general membership by referendum. Article XII provides that "proposed actions" may be submitted to a referendum in any of four ways, one of which is by "order of the Executive Council." This "proposed" action which the Executive Council has ordered to be submitted to a referendum certainly comes within the scope of Article XII and is entirely legal and proper.

This referendum provides an orderly, demoeratic and constitutional procedure which will avoid the destructive effects of having the issue dragged out through ten months of internal struggle. The Executive Council is ready to abide by the results of the referendum. Certainly the locals involved should be willing to accept the verdict of the highest authority of the union—the general membership.

### For a United and Effective AFT—Reply of Locals 5, 192, and 537

(Continued from page 3) figure in the Council report or even which parts the Council has accepted as its own charges.

Therefore, we ask any member who thinks we have not answered any of the charges made against us to communicate with us. We shall be glad to send further information. Address Miss Celia Lewis, 8 West 16th Street, New York City.

### 1936-1940, Years of Growth and Achievement

Expulsions Proposed After Banner Year for American Federation of Teachers. Ever since the 1940 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, the Executive Council has tried to make the members believe that the organization is in an extremely serious condition—a condition which warrants investigations, hearings and even expulsions. But the official record of the American Federation of Teachers does not bear out this contention. In fact it indicates that the exact opposite is the case:

"The 1940 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers marks the close of the greatest year of achievement in the history of the organization. . . . It is probable that no other teachers' organization in America has ever won in so short a time as many important victories as the American Federation of Teachers won during the past year. In a sense it seems that the year, 1939-1940, represents a consummation of accomplishment of the objectives for which the American Federation of Teachers was organized twenty-four years ago by courageous, forward-looking educators." (Report of Secretary-Treasurer, August, 1940)

Yet following this report of brilliant achievement on the part of the American Federation of Teachers, Professor Counts and his followers organized a violent attack on the majority of the Executive Council which had been responsible for the policies of the American Federation of Teachers during the banner year, 1939-1940. These outstanding men and women were labelled communists or communist sympathizers. It was implied that they were disloyal and unAmerican. Every one of them was defeated in the hysteria engendered by wild charges and wilder rumors.

Characteristically, the last act of the outgoing Council was the framing of an excellent program for the defense of education which was unanimously adopted by the Convention, and a plea to the new Executive Council to lay aside the bitterness engendered by the election and to carry out the adopted program in the interest of the American Federation of Teachers and of the children and teachers of America.

However, the new Executive Council has paid no

attention to the program adopted at the Convention nor to the plea for unity. It has tried to make members of the American Federation of Teachers forget the healthy and vigorous condition of the American Federation of Teachers as reported at the 1940 Convention and to make them believe that such drastic measures as expulsion are necessary. It has brought up old charges which were fully considered and rejected by AFT Conventions in 1935 and 1936. It wants you to believe that the AFT should go back to the programs and policies which were followed prior to the 1935 Convention.

1935—Small, Struggling Union. Yet the situation of the American Federation of Teachers in 1935 was described as follows by Mr. Kuenzli, national secretary-treasurer: "A small, struggling, insolvent Union" (1939 Convention report) and "A small, struggling international Union approaching bankruptcy" (1940 Convention report).

The membership figures throw further light on the situation. As late as January, 1934, there were only 7,500 members in the American Federation of Teachers—after eighteen years of existence. During 1934 there was a spurt of organization in Ohio which organized three large locals and brought the membership up to 13,500. But by the 1935 Convention the membership was again on the decline and had gone down to about 12,500.

Turning Point in American Federation of Teachers' History. The 1935 Convention was a turning point in the history of the American Federation of Teachers. This Convention refused the demands of the Linville-Lefkowitz leadership in Local 5 to revoke the charter of the local and so to rid itself of a group of people who were fighting within Local 5 for a large, active, democratic union to meet the depression crisis in education. The Linville-Lefkowitz supporters prophesied the rapid disintegration of the American Federation of Teachers. However, the records show the exact opposite:

"The twenty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers finds the organization in the most prosperous and promising condition in the history of the Union. During the past school year we have experienced the largest growth since the Union was founded in 1916. On September 30, 1936, the monthly report showed a paid-up membership of 15,119. On July 22, 1937, the report showed a membership of 22,000, an increase of 46 per cent." (Report of Secretary-Treasurer, August, 1937)

"It is probable that few people appreciate the fact that the American Federation of Teachers during the last three years, has evolved from a small, struggling, insolvent Union to a powerful organization which is structurally sound... The greatest progress of the Union has been in the last three years... more than one-half of the membership of the Union did not exist three years ago. ..." (Report of Secretary-Treasurer, 1939.)

"In three years, therefore, we have doubled our mem-

bership; paid off our debts of several thousand dollars; assisted a large number of other organizations through the hardships of the depression; built a defense fund of several thousands of dollars; and greatly enlarged the services of the Union..." (Report of Secretary-Treasurer, 1939.)

"The fact that the American Federation of Teachers has, during the past four years, emerged from a small struggling international union approaching bankruptey... with accumulated debts of several thousands of dollars... to a powerful international union in sound financial condition, is one of the outstanding accomplishments not only in the field of education but in the entire labor movement." (Report of Secretary-Treasurer, August, 1940)

1940—Council Fails to Carry Forward Work of American Federation of Teachers. The present Executive Council took over the American Federation of Teachers after four years of unparalleled growth and achievement. It came into office at a time of impending war, of attacks not only on school budgets and salaries but also on the very concept of free education. It had an opportunity to forward the outstanding work of the American Federation of Teachers and to put up the kind of fight for education and academic freedom which the American Federation of Teachers alone of all existing teachers' organizations was prepared to undertake. The Council chose, instead, to embark on a course of investigations, hearings, and expulsions which could only have been justified if the organization had been in a state of disintegration.

### Record of Activities of Accused Locals

### Local 192

From its reorganization in December, 1933, until the present, Local 192 has experienced a steady, wholesome growth in membership. In 1934 it paid per capita for 226 members (for the year). In 1940 it paid per capita for 966 members.

At the very outset, the Local came favorably before the public through its successful campaign to reduce the price of milk from four to three cents per half-pint for school children.

In the field of teacher tenure, Local 192 and the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers have been signally successful. In 1937 it obtained a tenure law for Pennsylvania. This law, with its provisions for appeal to the courts and limited and specific reasons for dismissal, has become a model for teachers throughout the nation.

The Local has fought every attempt to weaken this tenure law. When in 1937 immediately after passage of the act its constitutionality was attacked on some nine grounds, the Local was successful in beating back the attack. When at the same time the Philadelphia Board of Education presented its employees with a twelve-month contract, Local 192 went to the courts and was successful in having

these contracts thrown out.

Closely tied up with the tenure campaign has been the fight for salary maintenance. The Local became significant in Philadelphia when it successfully campaigned in 1935 against the extension of a 10 per cent salary cut which had been imposed on the teachers.

In 1937 Local 192 was admittedly solely responsible for the writing, introduction and passage of a Sabbatical Leave Law. Significant in all these cases has been the excellent financial support which the Local has received from the teachers. Significant also was the decision of all the teachers of the city, in the face of opposition from the leaders of the largest teacher organizations, to support the Local's cases in 1938.

Local 192 has been active in defense of teachers' rights. One of its earliest campaigns was the successful one, in 1934, to reinstate fifty-eight Negro teachers who had been dismissed from the school system in Chester, Pennsylvania.

In the field of Educational Policies, stressed year after year by our national convention, Local 192 has made significant contributions. One of its publications, "The Workshop," has been of excellent service to Philadelphia teachers. The Local has campaigned for democratic participation in school administration, and as a result of its efforts many faculty councils have been set up. The Local has participated in successful campaigns against the "Unit School" plan—a stretchout device proposed for Philadelphia's senior high schools. It has contributed significant articles to the American Teacher, our national publication.

### Local 5

In the five and a half years since the present administration was elected to the leadership of Local 5, the Local has engaged in continuous activity in behalf of the teachers and the children of the City of New York.

Local 5 is the only teachers' organization in New York which has a full-time legislative representative in constant attendance at the state capitol when the legislature is in session.

Local 5 publishes a bi-weekly newspaper, Teacher News, with a circulation of 20,000 copies. It also publishes a monthly magazine, The New York Teacher, whose circulation is 10,000. It has published a Pension Primer which is the standard guide of all the teachers in the city on pension matters and the Teachers Guide, summarizing and analyzing the by-laws of the Board of Education.

The Legal Aid and Grievance Committee meets daily and is visited by a steady stream of Union and non-union teachers for help and advice.

The Pension Committee is also in constant attendance at meetings of the Retirement Board, and gives

advice to teachers in the complicated pension affairs of the Teachers Retirement System.

Each year since 1936 Local 5 has held an Educational Conference on the theme, "Education for Democracy." During each of the past three years the attendance has been 3,500.

In 1936 when full restoration of pay cuts was achieved, Local 5 was the only organization which campaigned for full and immediate restoration. In the summer of 1939 Local 5 held out against salary cuts when the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations supported a compromise salary-cut bill. The cut was defeated.

In 1936 the Local succeeded in having passed the "Jarema Law," granting newly appointed teachers up to two years of credit toward permanent licenses for service rendered as substitutes.

In 1938 Local 5 won pay increases of a dollar a day for substitutes.

At the present time Local 5 is conducting a vigorous campaign against oversized classes.

Between May, 1939, and February, 1940, Local 5 and the New York State Federation of Teachers Unions distributed 3,500,000 leaflets on state aid and full educational appropriations.

In 1939 the Local successfully campaigned against the closing of the city's kindergartens when the State Legislature cut state aid by ten million dollars. In the fall of 1939 and winter of 1940, it carried the fight for state-aid restoration throughout the state. Eight million dollars of the cut was restored in 1940. As a result of its 1939-1940 legislative campaign, Local 5 won the American Federation of Teachers award for the best legislative work of the year. The Secretary-Treasurer's report for 1940 says of the campaign for state aid:

"In the State of New York, American Federation of Teachers locals backed by the labor movement were largely responsible for preventing a heavy slash in state aid for public schools. Several millions of dollars were saved from the economy groups for the children of New York."

At the present time, Local 5 broadcasts every Sunday afternoon in defense of the schools over a New York City radio station. This fall and winter it supplied speakers on state aid for over a hundred organizations at their request.

Local 5 has called a number of mass meetings exposing the budget-cutting purposes of the Rapp-Coudert Committee. One of these alone, on December 18, was attended by 5,000 people. "Citizens Committees to Save the Schools" are being set up in all parts of the state.

### Local 537

Local 537 is the largest college teachers union in the United States.

It has played a major role in securing enactment of the widely-acclaimed democracy by-laws whereby the Board of Higher Education democratized the structure of the city colleges in 1938.

The Local played an active role in the united efforts of the staffs of the city colleges to secure tenure protection, helping in the drafting of programs, securing wide community support, and keeping the issue alive before the staffs. The tenure campaigns culminated in passage of a Board by-law in 1938 and a state law in 1940.

When non-instructional staffs were transferred to the municipal civil service, open hearings were secured and many safeguards pressed for by Local 537 were introduced into the by-law finally adopted.

Local 537 has carried on an active campaign for an adequate budget for the city colleges. It secured open budget hearings for the staff, and there pressed for budgets adequate for community needs.

Local 537 has sought to assist individuals unjustly treated with respect to salary and promotion or dismissal. Some 200 cases have come before the grievance committee since January, 1938. Ninety-five have been actively prosecuted, and fifty of these won; some are still pending.

Apart from its work in developing programs for the solution of concrete problems on the various campuses, the Union has played a wider role in educational leadership. Since its establishment it has run a series of annual forums which have dealt with the professional, scholarly and administrative problems of democracy and higher education.

Local 537 is now devoting considerable time and energy to the campaign against the Rapp-Coudert Committee, protecting Union members who are unjustly attacked or dismissed, and conducting a court case to prevent seizure of its membership lists.

### The Democratic Organization of the Locals

All these locals, far from engaging in anti-democratic practices, give constant demonstrations of the practical application of democratic functioning in their daily activities. They have succeeded in bringing literally thousands of their members into active participation in the daily work of the Union.

The constitutions of all three locals give to their membership absolute and unequivocal power to determine policy. The locals have well-attended membership meetings every month. Announcement of a membership meeting is sent to every member at least five days before a meeting. There is free discussion from the floor at these meetings. Opposing points of view are given equal opportunities for expression.

The Executive Boards of the locals meet every two weeks. Their powers are clearly limited and defined. Their actions are subject to review by the membership. Union committees are open to all members.

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The locals hold annual elections for officers and Executive Board members. Nominations are made from the floor of a membership meeting called for that purpose. A special membership meeting is set aside for the discussion of issues and candidates. In Philadelphia voting takes place at a membership meeting, and the polls are open from 4:00 to 9:30 p.m. In Locals 5 and 537 a ballot is sent to each member by mail. Secret ballot is guaranteed by double envelope. All candidates or groups of candidates may mail statements to the entire membership. Election issues are also fully discussed at school and chapter meetings. The Election and Counting Committees include representatives of contending candidates.

In Locals 5 and 537 elections to the Executive Board and the national convention are on the basis of proportional representation.

In all three locals referenda on any subject may be held upon request.

In addition to the monthly membership meeting, Local 5 has a Delegate Assembly elected in the schools by proportional representation which meets monthly, reviews Executive Board actions and decides policy between membership meetings.

Accepting Democratic Verdicts. An essential of democracy is an acceptance of democratic verdicts democratically arrived at. There must be a faith in the wisdom and integrity of the rank and file of the membership. This the minorities in these locals as well as the National Executive Council are unwilling to concede. Because its supporters in these Locals have not been able to get control in democratic elections, the Executive Council proposes to take the charters from the large majority of the members and to give them to the small group of Council supporters. This is a flat rejection of the democratic process.

### The Communist Issue

Are Locals 5, 537 and 192 Communist-Dominated? Every one of these Locals states categorically that it is not dominated by communists or any other groups. The democratic functioning of these Locals precludes all possibility of domination. The policy of these Locals is fully discussed by the membership. Nor is the discussion perfunctory. Every item of any importance has always been challenged by those opposed to it. The minority point of view has been given equal time in discussion with the majority. This very charge of communist control has been raised within the Locals and thoroughly aired, and the members have time and again repudiated it.

As proof of communist domination of Local 5 and by inference of the other locals, the Executive Council has read into the record a report taken from the proceedings of a Communist Party convention. This report boasts that there are several hundred

communists in Local 5. We do not know who made the report, and we have no way of checking its accuracy. We suspect it of being inaccurate, as are the membership figures for the local given in the same report. We cannot see that this statement is any kind of proof of communist domination of the local. As for the alleged presence of individual communists, we stand by the principle enunciated in the American Federation of Teachers Constitution: "No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith or political activity or belief." We do not intend to question members as to their political beliefs. We do intend to demand of every member that he comply with the democratic processes of the Union. We do not believe members of any political beliefs can dominate an organization under such circumstances.

Reasoning By Analogy—The Parallel Action Technique. But mainly, in the absence of any evidence of undemocratic control or communist domination, the Executive Council depends on the parallel action technique. This technique is extremely simple and all-inclusive. It consists of picking some dozen or so actions, of pointing out that the Communist Party or some other group called communist has also endorsed such actions, and of concluding that the organization under discussion must, therefore, be communist. Hundreds of other activities of the organization are disregarded. The thousands of other groups supporting the actions in question are not mentioned. The merits of the actions themselves are disregarded. Changes in the world around us which must lead intelligent people to change their policies are not taken into consideration. Those who use this type of reasoning give up all pretense at a rational and scientific approach. It becomes unnecessary to consider proposals basically. Actions are no longer voted or defeated on the basis of whether they are necessary, appropriate or harmful. Only one criterion remains, and that is supposed similarity to communism.

Here are some examples of charges of parallel actions made in two separate statements with our comments on them:

#### "Local 5 Favored Loyalist Spain"

This is true. Thousands of trade unions and millions of people in our country favored Loyalist Spain. On a motion presented by Mary Herrick of Local 1, Chicago, the American Federation of Teachers at its 1936 Convention unanimously took a stand favoring the Loyalists and urged its locals to contribute money to the trade union collection for Spain.

### "The 'New York Teacher' Carried Articles on Refugee Children's Camps"

This is true. Many other trade union papers did

likewise. The AMERICAN TEACHER published a moving article on this subject by Mr. Irvin R. Kuenzli.

### "Local 5 Favored the Mayor at One Time and Is Hostile Towards Him at Present"

There are very good reasons for this. Mayor LaGuardia is a seasoned politician and changes with the times. In the depression days of 1934-35 the Mayor was responsible for cuts in salaries. The publications of Local 5 criticized him severely. In 1937, however, he had assumed leadership in the fight for adequate relief and social welfare. He was the candidate of the American Labor Party and had the endorsement of most of the trade unions. Local 5 joined the entire progressive and tradeunion movement in supporting him. In 1939 he referred to cuts in the educational budget as "unwarranted, immoral and illegal."

It is true his stand on education was sometimes bad. On these occasions the Local did not hesitate to criticize him. Its criticism has become more severe this year because the Mayor has given up the fight for social welfare, has recommended a capital outlay budget of one dollar, favors further educational retrenchment and has supported the budget-cutting Rapp-Coudert Committee.

### "Local 5 First Endorsed and Then Opposed a New City Charter"

Local 5 endorsed the city charter because of its generally progressive character. It changed its stand when its legislative representative and its attorney called its attention to some provisions extremely dangerous for teachers and civil-service workers. These provisions, if enforced, would make it impossible for such employees to contribute money for the defense of their own economic interests.

### "After the Nazi-Soviet Pact Local 5 Dropped Collective Security"

Local 5 was for collective security as was a large section of the population. The Local believed that collective action on the part of peaceful nations would keep the war from breaking out. It believed this was the best way to ensure peace for our country. It still believes this might have been possible before Spain, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia were given up to Hitler. When war broke out, collective action to prevent war was no longer a possible policy. It was logical to keep abreast of events. Like many others who had hoped that war might be averted, Local 5 turned its attention to a program for keeping our own country out of the war which was already raging elsewhere. This was in line with practically all the unions of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

### "Local 5 Showed 'Ferocity' in Attacking Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, Whom It Had Praised in 1937"

In 1937 Dr. Gideonse made some fine statements

on education in a democracy. Now he seeks to destroy tenure in the city colleges, favors labor camps for students and uses repressive measures against students. In the New York Herald-Tribune of June 15, 1940, he is quoted as having said in an address: "The sooner we get over this oratorical rubbish about preserving the social gains of the last ten years the better." Local 5 believes Dr. Gideonse deserves to be attacked by those interested in democratic education and social welfare.

### "No Book Hostile to the Soviet Union Was Reviewed in 'New York Teacher'"

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Neither was any book favorable to the Soviet Union reviewed in the New York Teacher. Unlike the Executive Council and Mr. Fein's non-union associates, Local 5 does not consider the Russian Revolution an issue in the Teachers Union. The only book on the Soviet Union reviewed in the magazine was a book on Soviet education which had been recognized as an authoritative study of this subject—Changing Man—The Educational System of the U.S.S.R., by Beatrice King.

### "Local 5 Came Out Unconditionally against Defense"

This is false. The stand of Local 5 was that true defense could not be obtained at the expense of curtailing education and other social services.

### "Local 5 Voted Down a Resolution Condemning the Hitler-Stalin Pact"

This is not true. Such a resolution was never before the Local for action. The people making this accusation were at all times at liberty to put this item on the agenda. They did not seek to do so.

### "Local 5 Supported Left-Wing Labor Party Candidate Quill"

This is true. But the Local also supported rightwing candidates Laidler and Rubinstein, as well as Anthony Boccia, a Republican-ALP candidate. The test in each case was the candidate's stand on educational issues.

### "Local 5 Delegates to 1940 Convention Opposed a Resolution Lumping Nazism, Fascism and Communism"

This is true. But the Local took this action only after it had itself passed such a resolution. It found that this had not placated the red-baiters but had merely encouraged them to demand investigations and expulsions on the basis of political opinion. The present action of the Council is proof of Local 5's contention—such a resolution is merely a preliminary to investigations and purges. The delegates passed the resolution by a vote of 169 to 168. Is half the American Federation of Teachers to be investigated and purged on this basis?

### Union Publications Carry Minimum of Political Material

In its eagerness to prove its case, the Executive Council has not been at all careful to check the accuracy of the evidence submitted to it. For example, Mr. Fein, a former member of Local 5, turned in a report on the New York Teacher in which he said that this magazine subordinated teachers' interests to political activity. Yet a study of the New York Teacher from the end of 1935 to October, 1940, reveals that only 62½ inches out of 12647.5 inches or only 4.91 per cent of the magazine had been devoted to political matters, using political in its most inclusive sense. The complete tabulation follows:

	PER CENT
FINANCES	2.21
TAXATION	1.68
TEACHERS' EXAMINATIONS	1.62
DEFENSE OF EDUCATION	1.57
STUDENTS	1.39
PEACE AND EDUCATION	.905
OTHER TEACHER ORGANIZATIONS	.608
GOOD AND WELFARE	.521
Union Policy	.381
UNION EDUCATION	.3003
CONSUMER	.207
BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY	.162
PARENTS	.102
DEFENSE OF THE UNION	.105
DEMOCRACY IN SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM	15.856
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND CURRICULUM CONTENT	12.
WORKING AND SCHOOL CONDITIONS	10.406
LABOR	10,076
ORGANIZATION	10.01
STATE AID AND OTHER LEGISLATION	8.84
Politics	4.91
Pensions	4.63
EMPLOYMENT FOR TEACHERS	4.41
OVERCROWDING AND CHILD WELFARE	4.105
SOCIAL CONDITIONS	3,79

The Philadelphia Teacher, monthly magazine of Local 192, was similarly attacked by Mr. George Hartmann, testifying before the Dies Committee last year. A study of the magazine from December, 1938, to November, 1939, discloses the following allocation of pages:

rocation of pages.		
METHODS OF TEACHING AND CURRICULA	12	pages
TENURE AND LEGISLATION	23	
LABOR AND ORGANIZATION	20	**
FEATURES	6	44
FINANCE FOR ADEQUATE SCHOOL FACILITIES	21	66
*GENERAL	11	46
STATEMENT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD ON "COMMIT		
TEE OF 49"	1	page
WILLIAM PENN AND TOLERANCE	1/4	"
ELECTION COMMENT	1/4	44
LOCAL CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	14	46
NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS	3/4	column
ADULT EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY	1	page
THE GELTZ BILL	1/4	"
CONVENTION FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY	1/2	**
H.R. 103-Intolerance	14	**
LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE	14	44
CONTRIBUTION OF NEGRO TO AMERICAN CULTURE	1	44

\*(The articles under "General" are cited in full because whatever political articles appeared were under this heading.) The Only Test—Loyalty to the Union. At a Local 5 meeting on Sunday, March 9th, Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary summed up our position as follows:

"If you and I happen to arrive at any conclusion which happens to coincide in part with something in the communist program we are immediately attacked. If that sort of logic can be put over on the American people, it means an end to independent thinking and will parallel the 'dangerous thought' legislation in Japan.

"There is only one test of any policy in a Union—not where it comes from but what it does. By their fruits ye

shall know them.

"On the rights of communists to be members of the Union we will not yield one inch. All persons are welcome to our Union regardless of race, color, creed, religious or political belief. The only test is loyalty to the Union."

### Publicity and Membership

The Executive Council charges that the political activities of Local 5 have resulted in unfavorable publicity and loss of membership throughout the Federation.

We are hard put to it to understand the charge about unfavorable publicity. Most newspapers consistently distort strike news and attack trade unions. A large section of the press opposes adequate expenditures for schools. This is certainly true in New York City, where practically the entire press has given editorial support to cutting the school budget. Locals 5 and 537 and 192 have found it necessary to distribute their own leaflets in order to bring facts and figures about education to the attention of the public. Our Locals are attacked not because they are political but because they fight so well for adequate budgets and for trade-union rights.

Mr. Kuenzli's 1940 report, unanimously approved by the last AFT convention, shows that the American Federation of Teachers appreciates the true meaning of attacks in the press: "There is no greater tribute to the growing strength of the American Federation of Teachers than the fact that the most powerful weapons of the foes of labor and free education have been turned against the Union. In fact the growth in membership, power and prestige of the American Federation of Teachers in recent years has so alarmed the enemies of free public-school education in America that the Union has during the past years been subjected to the most bitter attack and most incessant barrage since the concerted drive against the Union in 1919-20."

### Unfavorable Publicity Inspired by Council

The unfavorable publicity received by Locals 5 and 537 has come mainly from the Rapp-Coudert Investigating Committee, from other anti-education

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groups, and from the American Federation of Teachers Executive Council which has released to the press all its charges against the Locals. These charges received front-page prominence.

Local 192 received its share of unfavorable publicity when William Green, at the request of Dr. Counts, brought pressure to bear on the Philadelphia Central Labor Union to sever its cordial relations with the Local and to undertake an investigation of the Local, and when the American Federation of Teachers Executive Council, at its February meeting, without investigation or hearing recommended the revocation of its charter.

The unfavorable publicity given our Locals by such groups as the Coudert Committee undoubtedly does a great deal of harm and intimidates many teachers. Yet attacks on the part of the anti-education forces represented by the Coudert Committee are to be expected at a time like the present. But the simultaneous public attacks on the part of the Executive Council do irreparable damage not only to the Locals under attack but to the prestige of the American Federation of Teachers and to the cause of education.

### Loss of Membership

The charge is made that these Locals have been responsible for a loss of membership throughout the American Federation of Teachers. Yet a graph on American Federation of Teachers growth which appeared in the 1940 convention report of the Secretary-Treasurer proves conclusively that the years when these Locals were active in the national leadership of the American Federation of Teachers, 1935-1940, were banner years of growth for the organization. From 1935 to 1940 the AFT grew from 12,500 to 32,000.

Membership figures for Locals 5, 537 and 192 indicate that these Locals grew along with the rest of the American Federation of Teachers during these years. The following are membership figures for the three Locals:

	Local 5	Local 537	Local 192
1935	1200-1974	_	434
1936	3245	_	724
1937	4971	-	782
1938	5706	731	988
1939	6530	900	995

During the period from October, 1935, to January, 1941, Local 5 paid per capita dues to the AFT national office to the amount of \$67,793, or more than \$12,000 a year.

In 1939-40 the American Federation of Teachers membership showed a slight drop. Mr. Kuenzli's 1940 report attributes this drop to the barrage of attacks on the part of the enemies of education. Locals 5, 192 and 537 held their own, showing an

even slighter decrease in membership than the rest of the American Federation of Teachers:

	Local 5	Local 537	Local 192
1939-40	6348	824	966

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Since the 1940 convention the membership of Local 5 has gone down to 5,403. We do not know how this compares with membership figures throughout the country. But we do know that the bitter attacks of 1919-20 and the activities of the Lusk Investigating Committee of those days have been outdistanced by the attacks of the present Coudert Committee. No doubt the intimidating effect of the investigation has had some effect on our members. But we are certain the American Federation of Teachers Executive Council itself is responsible for the greater part of the loss in membership. In the first place Dr. Counts and others helped engineer an organized group resignation of some 300 people who formed a dual organization in October which has devoted itself ever since to getting Union members to drop out. In addition some of the members have been thoroughly disgusted with the activities of the Council and have refused to pay dues, since part of these are sent to the Executive Council to be used against the Local. Yet this concerted attack from within the American Federation of Teachers and from the Coudert Committee has resulted in a loss of some 900 members. Compared to the membership loss of the whole Federation in 1919-20 (when the Union faced attack only from forces outside the Union) from 10,000 to 3,500 in a few months—this loss is not an indication of weakness. It is rather a proof of the courage and devotion of our members.

The membership of Locals 192 and 537 since the convention are 905 for Local 192 and 821 for Local 537. These figures prove our contention that the persecution of the Executive Council has played a large part in the loss of membership in Local 5. Local 5 has been under attack by the Executive Council and its close associates since October. Local 537 was included after the New Year. Local 192 was added after the February 15 and 16 meeting.

### Relations with Labor

Interference with Autonomous Rights. A press release (New York Times, March 9, 1941) says that William Green is giving full support to our Executive Council in its attempt to expel the New York and Philadelphia Locals and that he is appealing to our membership to vote for expulsion. This appeal is accompanied by a warning that amounts to a threat that it will be "a sorry day" for unionism if the purge is not accomplished. Yet in the case of racketeers in unions, William Green has professed himself to be helpless because of the principle of autonomy.

This attempt of President Green to dictate how

our members shall vote on this referendum is not the first time that he has tried to dictate the internal policies of our Federation and of other unions. In the summer of 1935, when the American Federation of Teachers was holding its Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, William Green was at Detroit forcing the automobile workers to accept against their will his choice of a man named Dillon to head their new union. In our own Convention at the same time, an attempt was then being made to expel Local 5. Some one in our Convention telephoned Green in Detroit to come to the aid of the faction that was trying to expel the local. He obliged by sending a telegram to the convention demanding the expulsion of Local 5 and hinting at some discipline if it were not done.

AFT Decisively Rejects Interference. The officers and the Executive Board of Local 5 under the leadership of Henry R. Linville and Abraham Lefkowitz were at that time asking the Convention to revoke the Local's charter so they could reorganize it in their own way. This appeal and Green's demand were thoroughly discussed and the answer of the Convention was a decisive "NO."

The next Convention of the American Federation of Teachers met in Philadelphia in the summer of 1936. In the meantime, at the instigation of those who would not accept the decision of the 1935 Convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had conducted its own investigation of Local 5 and recommended to our 1936 Convention that the Local's charter be revoked and the Local reorganized. The Convention gave a more decisive answer of "NO" than the year before in the form of the following resolution adopted by a 3 to 1 vote:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor after hearing a report of its investigating committee has recommended the revocation of the charter of Local 5; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in principle and practice recognizes the right of internationals to autonomy; and

WHEREAS, The report of the committee of the American Federation of Labor on investigation of charges that the American Federation of Teachers is dominated by the enemies of the American Federation of Labor did not in its report make any decision bearing on the charges; and

WHEREAS, The existence and growth of Local 5 is of high concern to the American Federation of Teachers and that local has grown at a rate of nearly 200 per cent during the last year, and has faithfully discharged its obligations to the American Federation of Teachers and to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There is nothing in the conduct and control of the New York local with which the American Federation of Teachers feels justified in interfering to the extent of revoking its charter; therefore, be it

Resolved: That no action on the recommendation of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council be taken relative to the revocation of the charter of Local 5.

Does History Teach Anything? In 1935 and 1936 the American Federation of Teachers refused to be intimidated into purges and expulsions, yet its relations with the American Federation of Labor nationally have been excellent. The American Federation of Labor supported the American Federation of Teachers campaign for federal aid. The American Federation of Teachers was represented on the American Federation of Labor Education Committee. The American Federation of Labor supported the Union in the campaign for the reinstatement of Jerome Davis. In 1937 William Green sent a letter of friendly greetings to the AFT Convention. In 1938 and 1939, George Googe addressed the Convention as Green's personal representative.

All through this period the American Federation of Teachers maintained its right to form its own policies and to differ from the American Federation of Labor Executive Council. At the 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Jerome Davis delivered the main speech against expulsion of the Committee for Industrial Organization and for unity in the labor movement. In 1938 and 1939 our delegates again spoke for unity in the labor movement and defended the National Labor Relations Law. No attempt was made to discipline the American Federation of Teachers. In fact the 1939 American Federation of Teachers Convention proceedings state: "Mr. Googe closed his address with the statement that the President of the American Federation of Labor would do everything in his power after the Convention to adjust what controversies may exist in any locality between the central labor bodies and the teachers unions." It was only the election of an Executive Council eager to purge the American Federation of Teachers of all opposition which led William Green to attempt once more to interfere in the American Federation of Teachers and to make it a mere rubber stamp of American Federation of Labor policies.

Role of Executive Council in Philadelphia. The solicitude of our Executive Council for our labor relations is unconvincing to us. For it has been deliberately trying to destroy the good labor relations of the Philadelphia Local. The Philadelphia Inquirer of January 22, 1940, said:

"William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, said he had investigated charges against Local 192's officials at the request of the Teachers' Union's national administration. Green said the purpose was to oust any 'reds' and plan a new local on a 'sound and enduring AFL basis.'

"Green told the Inquirer that Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University, President of the American Federation of Teachers, and his associates had sought the action against Communists. 'I called upon the Central Labor Union in Philadelphia,' Green said, 'to investigate the acts of certain individuals in the local teachers union, and I presume the action taken there was in line with my request.'"

This press report substantiates what we know of Green's and Counts' activities. In the case of the New York Locals their suspension from a most arbitrary Central Trades Council is exploited to make out a case against them. In the case of the Philadelphia Local where labor relations are good, they deliberately create a situation which they can exploit to the embarrassment of the Local.

### Local 192 Enjoys Excellent Labor Relations

Not only has Local 192 been functioning demoeratically and efficiently as a teachers organization but its relations to labor have been most cordial. The Secretary of Local 192 is now chairman of the Central Labor Union's Legislative Committee.

An outstanding achievement of Local 192 is the Pennsylvania State Tenure Law which is the best in the country. This was made possible by close co-operation between the Teachers Union and the rest of organized labor throughout the state. Many times have the presidents of the city and state labor bodies appeared before the legislature at Harrisburg and the Board of Education in Philadelphia to give support to the teachers. Of course, the teachers have reciprocated by supporting labor's campaigns. Within the past month the State Federation of Labor incorporated Local 192's legislative program as a part of its own. It is no exaggeration to say that Local 192's labor relationships serve as an example for the rest of the locals in the American Federation of Teachers.

In 1938 Sara T. Walsh, Legislative Representative of Local 192, was a candidate for the office of state senator and had the distinction of being the only candidate having both American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations endorsement.

In 1939 President James L. McDevitt of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor sent the following greeting to the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers:

".... While you are a comparatively young organization, I do not know of any other group that can boast as fine a record as that which your organization has acquired.... Your record of achievement in the educational field speaks for itself.... You have written a page in the history of organized labor in promoting the Teachers' Tenure Law.... I would like to take this opportunity to reassure your Federation of the continued support and active cooperation of our organization in the interest of your people."

In 1940 President McDevitt gave the following statement to Local 192 to be used in organization work:

"... The AFT Local 192 is to be commended for the contribution they have made in the field of education both within and outside the organized labor movement.... It is the wish of the officers and members of our Federation that Local 192 continue its efforts, and that they may be

successful in enlisting into membership all qualified persons engaged in the teaching profession." (May 17, 1940)

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President Joseph McDonough of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, in commenting on a newspaper item anent "red control of Local 192," writes as follows:

"... As President of CLU for nearly two years, I want to assure you that I would have had the opportunity of detecting any unAmerican groups within your ranks. . . . I want to compliment you on your truly American group and assure you of the resources of the entire Philadelphia labor movement in your behalf. I place my services at your disposal to defend the Philadelphia Teachers Union whenever the occasion might arise."

Now at the instigation of Counts and on the order of Green, the Central Labor Union has set up a trial board to investigate charges against Local 192. Of course, the "opposition" in Local 192 supports Counts and undoubtedly is aiding in undermining the Local's standing with labor.

### Labor and the New York Locals

In spite of the suspension of the delegates of the New York Locals from the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Locals have not been isolated from labor. Scores of unions, both AFL and CIO, have given direct aid to the locals in their campaigns against educational retrenchments, in their defense against the Rapp-Coudert Committee and in their fights in the courts to prevent the seizure of their membership lists. A dozen important unions joined with Local 5 in amicus curiae proceedings in the courts.

The State Federation of Labor has supported the teachers unions in their educational programs before the state legislature. The 1940 Convention report of the Secretary-Treasurer quotes Thomas Lyons, President of the New York State Federation of Labor as follows: "The magnificent demonstration of loyalty and support which the Federation received from the trade-union movement was in my opinion the driving force which prevented the drastic cuts in wages and elimination of teachers."

Local 5 and the Central Trades. Local 5 was suspended from the Central Trades and Labor Council not for communistic activity but because it took too seriously the American Federation of Teachers Convention demand for a healing of the breach between the CIO and the AFL unions in 1938 when there seemed to be some hope of their reconciliation.

The split in the labor movement is very keenly felt in New York City and New York State where both the AFL and the CIO have great strength. In an effort to help heal the breach Local 5 called in February, 1938, a conference of American Federation of Labor unions for the purpose of discussing ways and means of bringing about unity in the labor movement. The conference was attended by

eighty AFL unions. The subject of "Unity in the Labor Movement" was the sole item on the agenda. The only action of the group was unanimously to pass a resolution—modeled after that passed at the previous convention of the American Federation of Teachers—calling upon the American Federation of Labor to take up the question of unity in the labor movement.

Originally this suspension was considered a temporary matter by all involved. The president of the Central Trades told the Local that if it sent in an appropriate letter things would be rectified after the passage of a reasonable period of time. After an appropriate letter had been sent, Local 5 was asked to get a statement of support from the AFT Executive Council. At the next meeting of the Executive Council such a request was made.

In keeping with the decision of the Executive Council to seek the Local's reinstatement, Dr. Jerome Davis, predecessor of Dr. Counts, twice interviewed William Green about the matter. On the first occasion Mr. Green said he was unfamiliar with the facts in the matter and promised that he would investigate. The second time, Mr. Green advised Dr. Davis that he had ascertained the facts, as well as the character of Local 5's activities, and that on the basis of the facts revealed by his inquiries he would recommend to the New York Central Trades and Labor Council that Local 5 be reinstated. On September 1, 1938, Mr. Hendley received a letter from William Collins, New York representative of the American Federation of Labor, indicating that he had been requested by William Green to mediate between the Central Trades and Local 5.

At the 1939 American Federation of Teachers Convention, Mr. George Googe, William Green's representative, stated in his address to the Convention that he expected shortly to see all American Federation of Teachers locals resume their good standing in their Central Trades, and he specifically mentioned New York.

Local 5 had considered this matter near a successful conclusion when Dr. Counts was elected to the presidency of the American Federation of Teachers. Dr. Counts referred the question to Matthew Woll and the Local immediately became aware of a new and hostile trend.

The election of an Executive Council ready to do the bidding of William Green made the reinstatement of Local 5 even more difficult. It is the judgment of Local 5, based upon previous experience, that Dr. Counts and the present Executive Council could have successfully effected our reinstatement had there been any disposition on their part to do so. The efforts of some of our Council members to destroy the good relations existing in Philadelphia between Local 192 and the Central Trades supports this conclusion.

Local 537 and the Central Trades. The suspension of the delegates of Local 537 early in 1939 followed public attacks on the Union by Professor Childs and Professor Counts. Before this attack, Central Trades had readily come to the support of Local 537, e.g., on questions of tenure and evening session. The actual charge—sending a delegate to the Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy—was trivial. Many unions at that time were affiliated with the League and many prominent educators had joined as members.

The AFT Executive Council's charge states that "efforts of said Local 537 and of officers and committees of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers to secure reinstatement in said body have been unavailing." It is hard to see how this can be anything but pretense. There is no evidence that the present Executive Council sought sincerely to have the suspension of Local 537's delegates lifted.

On October 24, 1940, the Local wrote to Dr. Counts in part as follows:

"To implement our desire for unity with the Guild and the Central Trades, we have set up a committee of Executive Board members to work with you and your committee in seeking our return to the Central Trades and the return of the Guild to the American Federation of Teachers along lines acceptable to both the New York Locals and the Guild. Our Committee welcomes the opportunity to meet with you at your early convenience to discuss procedures and other matters."

Professor Counts replied as of October 28 in part as follows:

"I wish to thank you for your letter of October 24. I shall bring it to the attention of the committee of the Council which is looking into the New York situation.

"I shall try to arrange a meeting with your committee at the earliest possible moment."

That was the last Local 537 heard of the matter until it received the "charges" from the Executive Council on February 17.

The Executive Council seems more concerned with exploiting or creating bad labor relations than in establishing good ones.

### Charge of Dual Unionism

The Executive Council charges all three Locals with dual unionism on the basis of support given by these Locals or by individual members in the Locals to the "Committee To Save The American Federation of Teachers." This committee was formed on January 16th, 1941, by a group of AFT members who were alarmed by the actions of the Executive Council. The people who formed it felt that the organized attempt to revoke charters and split the AFT must be met by an organized opposition. The "Committee To Save The American Federation of Teachers" was formed to maintain unity in the AFT and to propose to the AFT a constructive program for the defense of the schools. It is a voluntary committee within

the AFT. It does not seek to set up a rival organization. In spite of unfounded statements on the part of Council members, it has had no negotiations with the CIO, nor does it plan any such negotiations. It simply seeks, as its name states, to save the AFT from splits and internal dissensions and to direct it toward its real job of defending education. On February 16 the committee chose Professor Robert K. Speer as chairman. On March 1 a secretary and a treasurer were named. This was found to be necessary to ensure efficient functioning. The committee does not, as has been charged, employ a paid secretary or a legal staff.

The charge of dual unionism against this committee is the more astonishing because ever since the spring of 1940, and perhaps even before that time, there has been an organized group within the American Federation of Teachers known as the "Joint Progressive Caucus." This is the group which supported Professor Counts and the present Executive Council at the 1940 convention. This group has a chairman, solicits funds, circulates literature, holds meetings and plans campaigns. Until January 16 it was the only organized group in the American Federation of Teachers. The Council has made support of the "Committee to Save the American Federation of Teachers" grounds for charter revocation. It is a mark of the totalitarian tendencies of the Executive Council that it seeks to prevent the existence of any group except the Joint Progressive Caucus.

Council Deals With Dual-Union Groups. It is interesting to note that the Executive Council has no aversion for actual dual-union groups if they are akin to it in policy and outlook. In fact, it is prepared to give the charters of Local 5 and 537 to two dual groups. One of these is the "Teachers Guild," a group which left the AFT in 1935 when the convention refused to revoke the charter of Local 5. Rather than abide by the democratic decision of the AFT, this group walked out and formed a dual organization which has devoted most of its energies during the past six years to attacking Local 5 and the entire American Federation of Teachers. The other group is the "Committee for Free Teacher Unionism" which consists of former members of Local 5. These people, too, refused to abide by decisions of the membership and walked out of the Local when they found they could not hope to control it. The Executive Council proposes by using violent methods of expulsion to hand over the charter of the Local to these small groups which could not attain leadership by the method of democratic elections.

### On Factionalism

The administration of Local 5 is charged by the Executive Council with conducting its affairs in such

a way as to bring about disharmony and factionalism. The internal affairs of Local 5 have been conducted with the utmost regard for democratic procedure and the rights of minorities. If the Local has been at fault at all, it has been in being over-scrupulous in its regard for minority rights. From time to time there have existed various organized minority groups in the Local.

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These groups used their time and money for group activities, and very few of them found time or money to contribute to Union campaigns. They held group meetings and distributed expensively printed literature. They were given at least half the time at membership meetings. In referenda and during Union elections they sent out printed statements to all Union members. With all this activity they did not succeed in winning a following. Their program was entirely oppositionist, and the members felt the lack of a constructive attitude. In the 1940 Union elections they had the help of the head of the Central Trades and of Dr. Counts. Yet they received only 20 per cent of the vote. In October, 1940, with the knowledge of Dr. Counts, the leaders resigned in a group with a great fanfare of publicity. They have since devoted themselves to getting other people to resign and in trying to get the charter of the Local which they could never win over by democratic means.

The Executive Council calls the responsible administration of the Local, elected by an 80 per cent vote in the last elections, supported almost unanimously by the membership at the present time, devoting itself to the interest of the schools and the teachers, a faction. On the other hand it has the most cordial relations with the organized factionalists who have left the Local.

In Philadelphia a similar situation exists. Here are some of the activities of the factionalists in Philadelphia: In the 1940 election they distributed vicious attacks on the Union which they admit fell into the hands of non-union members. The opposition has urged members not to pay dues. It has gone to trade unionists outside the AFT and attempted to discredit the Local. While still in the Local it has circulated petitions for the establishment of a new local. Here, too, the approach is completely oppositionist. The opposition does not present a constructive program, nor does it participate in the work of the Union. This group too has enjoyed the most cordial relations with Dr. Counts and other members of the Executive Council. Only oppositionists were called in to testify on the question of charter revocation. On no occasion were the elected representatives of the Local questioned by the Executive Council or permitted to answer charges.

In Local 537 the only time at which caucuses have appeared in the Union is at election time; the first of these appeared in 1939, apparently under the leadership of Professor George W. Hartmann of

Teachers College. This caucus accused the Union of factionalism. Professor Hartmann and his slate were defeated by a five to one vote. In the 1940 elections Professor Speer defeated William Withers for the presidency by a vote of 412 to 109. Here, too, it is the small defeated faction which enjoys the support of the Executive Council.

### The Charge of Disruption

The Council charges that Local 5 disrupted the work of the AFT by sending out communications to other locals informing them of plans for a dual union which were afoot in New York. We submit to the membership whether the campaign against Local 5 or its defense of itself has been the cause of disruption in the AFT. Certainly a local under attack has the right of self-defense.

The Council charges that statements in regard to dual unionism were based on "rumors and hearsay not grounded in fact." However, every statement in our letters was based on the knowledge that members of the Executive Council were meeting with representatives of the Guild and with Counts supporters in Local 5 to plan a dual union. In October the Counts group resigned and circulated petitions for a dual charter in New York. These petitions were turned in to the Executive Council at its Christmas meeting. An item in *The Sun* on February 28, 1941, further corroborates our statements. This item which carried the headline.

"GUILD LIKELY TO ENTER AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS.

MAY SUPPLANT LOCAL 5," declared: "It has been known for some time that officers of the Federation have been discussing with the leaders of the Guild the question of the Guild's entrance into the Federation. All these conferences have been held behind closed doors,"

If any further corroboration is needed that Local 5 was justified in what it did, it is provided by a letter from Vice President Axtelle to Mr. Hendley, dated November 13, 1940, in which he writes:

"I feel that I owe you an apology for my letter of October 7th in which I scolded you and your officers for your behavior toward the Executive Council. At that time I was confident that there were no grounds whatever to justify such behavior.

"In view of the tremendous pressures that have been brought upon me since to grant a dual charter and in view of the statements that one of our vice-presidents has made in a partisan journal, in view of published meetings held to consider the creation of such a local, I think I was entirely mistaken. It makes no difference to me what the group is. When the group subverts the democratic process, it must be attacked. Under the name of democracy, too many campaigns are pursued for quite another and partisan purposes.

"I regret profoundly that the sweep of the Council at the last convention seems to give grounds for a punitive attitude towards a 40 per cent minority. I would prefer to be a member of the defeated minority rather than of the majority that takes such advantage."

### Unfair and Undemocratic Tactics of Council

In its desire to consolidate its position before the next convention, the Executive Council has indulged in some very questionable tactics. To strengthen its position the Council has brought up charges which were fully answered in 1935 and which were decisively rejected by five successive AFT conventions. In this way the immediate problems before the AFT and the constructive activities of our Locals in the present crisis are obscured.

A committee of three which it set up ostensibly to help Local 5 gain reinstatement in the Central Trades spent its time in consultation with every group hostile to Local 5 and in laying plans for a dual union. At the Christmas Council meeting it assumed the role of an investigating committee and recommended the revocation of the charter of Local 5 or the setting up of dual union in the city or both.

The Executive Council, without previous notice and without previous presentation of charges, suddenly called representatives of Local 5 for an investigation on December 31. The four charges presented on this occasion were expanded to nine charges by the time the Council decisions reached the Local. After the February 15 hearing four of the nine charges disappeared and one totally new charge appeared.

A twenty-six-page document prepared by a nonmember of the organization, supposedly analyzing some forty copies of the New York Teacher magazine, was read into the record at 4:00 a.m. on February 16. The request of Local 5 for a copy of the statement and time to consult the files of the New York Teacher and prepare an answer was denied.

Local 537, in spite of frequent requests, received no information as to the basis for the charges made against it. On February 16 it again asked the Council for the evidence on which the charges had been made. The Council then proposed to call in an ex-member of the Local to provide material as a basis for their decision taken almost two months prior to that day.

No charges were made against Local 192 before the February 15 hearings. Notified that the Local might be discussed, Mr. Aaron Kerman came to Chicago. He sent word to the Council that he was there, but was not called in. Yet the Local was notified along with Locals 5 and 537 of a recommendation to revoke its charter. Not until March 10, when it received a copy of the Council proceedings, did the local know what prompted the Council's actions.

The Council has acted as a partisan body, accepting at face value the unsubstantiated attacks upon the Locals of a small number of members or exmembers who sided with the Counts caucus in the 1940 convention, and disregarding the statements of responsible representatives of the Locals who

presented the views of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Locals.

To avoid having the matter of charter revocation discussed at the convention with the accused locals, the Council has thrown the constitution overboard. The constitution provides only one way in which a charter may be finally revoked:

"No charter shall be revoked if appealed nor shall any local be suspended or expelled unless for non-payment of dues, except by a two-thirds vote of the national convention."

This provision, especially the two-thirds vote, was written into the constitution to safeguard a minority in the organization from punitive action by a majority bent on holding on to control of the organization. Disregard of constitutional guarantees whether by a government or by a union administration is always a dangerous sign of a willingness to destroy democracy.

Local 453, New York WPA, was suspended by the Council on February 16 for nonpayment of dues. Yet this exceedingly hard-pressed Local had sent in its per capita check on January 15. True, the payment was late, but other Locals in a similar predicament were reinstated by the Council. Local 453, however, might have sent in some four or five hundred votes against charter revocation.

The Howard referendum was conducted in an exceedingly irregular manner by at least one very large Local. Arguments for the Council side of the question were stapled to each ballot. The other side was not presented at all. The Executive Council has, therefore, been asked for certain safeguards in the conduct of the present referendum.

### Type of Testimony Accepted by the Council

On March 11, Local 537 received a transcript of the record of the Council's meeting on February 16. Contained in this are sixty-four pages of material presented to the Council by Mr. William Withers, a former member of Local 537. These pages are full of allegations based on false assertions, gossip, distortion and misrepresentation of events. For example, it is asserted that Professor Henry David of Queens College refused to serve as chairman of the Union's Grievance Committee because he felt that bad cases were accepted (p. 59a). The fact is that Professor David did serve as chairman of the Grievance Committee, that he resigned from the chairmanship of the committee only when he became chairman of his department at the College, and that he has remained a member of the committee. He has in fact within the past month been among those who endorsed a public statement in defense of 537

calling the proposed charter revocation unfair to labor and education.

The most curious turn of all is the amazing logic with which the alleged "communist" nature of Union activities is demonstrated. The form of the argument, used several times throughout Mr. Withers' testimony, is as follows: The "communist" character of the administration is shown in the "communistic" affairs which it runs; the affairs are proved "communistic" by the "communistic" character of the participants; the "communistic" character of many of the participants is then demonstrated by showing that they were supporters of the administration slate at Union elections.

On March 6 the Columbia University chapter of Local 537, Dr. Counts' own chapter, listened to him discuss the issue of revocation with Dr. Speer, president of 537. When pressed for evidence of communist domination in Local 537, Dr. Counts was unable to state anything more than vague generalities. He thereupon asked that Dr. Withers be called in. Dr. Withers presented his material with samples of the alleged evidence. The incidents he referred to were then analyzed by Dr. Speer and another officer of the Local. The opinion of the chapter membership present, among whom were some of the leading social scientists and educators at Columbia, was that the charges were trivial and unfounded. The following resolution was passed by a vote of 29-5 (including Dr. Counts' vote):

"Having listened to arguments for both sides of the question from chosen representatives including Professor Counts and Professor William Withers and having appraised these arguments and found that they do not offer sufficient evidence to support revocation of the charter, the members of the Chapter here assembled go on record protesting the action of the Executive Council and supporting the Executive Board of Local 537; and we likewise urge other locals to hear the evidence on both sides and to take similar action."

### Disastrous Effects of Council Actions

Ever since the 1940 Convention, the Executive Council has devoted its time and energy and the meagre resources of the American Federation of Teachers to investigating and harassing those Locals which opposed it at the last AFT Convention. It has done irreparable harm to the fight for education in New York and Pennsylvania. Its activities and press releases have coincided with the activities of the Rapp-Coudert investigation, with demands for Union membership lists, with the legislative sessions in both states and with budget hearings. It has shown no regard for the effect of its activities on the educational situation.

The most flagrant example of its reckless disregard of the interests of the schools and the fate

of individual teachers is its release to the press of unsubstantiated charges of "communism" which the Coudert Committee is expected to use against members of Locals 5 and 537. The Executive Council itself had the following to say of the Rapp-Coudert Committee:

"The Rapp-Coudert Committee in investigating many aspects of the New York schools seems to us to have violated basic principles of trade unionism and individual rights. . . . It not only constitutes a threat to the Teachers Union but offers a dangerous precedent in the case of other labor organizations, and other trade unions share our apprehension of this precedent. . . . Private hearings have been called before a one-man committee where teachers have been denied the right to bring counsel or witnesses or to receive a transcript of testimony. Persons charged with subversive activities on unsubstantiated charges have been denied the right to reply to charges. Finally, in addition to the violation of individual rights, there has been the demand on the part of the committee for membership lists of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 5. . . . We particularly deplore the committee's preparing for such a cut (in State Aid) by coupling an investigation of finance with an inquiry into subversive activities and thus appearing to cast suspicion on education generally."

(AMERICAN TEACHER, January, 1941)

On March 3, 4 and 5, just prior to scheduled open hearings of the Coudert Committee on March 6, the Executive Council released its "parallel activity" statement to the press—a statement which Local 5 had not yet seen nor answered. This press release prepared the ground for the Coudert Committee and greatly harmed the people accused by the Committee on March 6 and 7.

The use to which the Coudert Committee will put the material released by the Executive Council was indicated in the newspapers. The following is a typical statement:

"The report will figure prominently in the forthcoming national membership referendum ordered by the Council and probably will be introduced as evidence when the Rapp-Coudert Committee resumes its hearings on subversive activities in the city's schools." (World-Telegram, March 3, 1941)

The release has already led to a demand for the dismissal from the schools of all Local members who supported the policies and administration of the Local. An editorial in the *Herald-Tribune* of March 5 reads, in part:

"And those members of the Union who applaud its course must be classed as positive or passive agents of Stalin and as obviously unfit to teach our children as would be Mohammedan mullahs."

Two dismissals have already taken place and many others are threatened.

### What Kind of Union Shall We Have?

Our attitude to our organization must be moulded in the light of a concrete program to meet the educational needs of America today. If we stand for the expansion of educational opportunities and facilities, for advanced education, for adult education, for education which is critical, realistic, constructive, not rendered timorous by every cry of "subversive"; if we stand for a comprehensive program of child welfare, for the expansion of social services established for the common good; if we stand for democratic organization and administration of American education, for genuine equality irrespective of race, religion or political creed, for equality of educational opportunity; if we stand for militant defense of teachers' rights, for vigorous defense of civil liberties and intellectual freedomwe cannot recklessly allow the American Federation of Teachers to be split by the action of the present national Council. We must resist the tendencies toward organizational divisiveness which inevitably emerge from the controversial issues of the present period, but only to invite disaster. Through sustained effort we must transform whatever internal dissension there has been into the solid and unyielding unity of a common educational purpose.

The issue which the members of the American Federation of Teachers are now called upon to decide is no light one. What kind of union do we want the American Federation of Teachers to be? Is it to be inclusive, democratic, encouraging

local growth, stimulating vigorous campaigns for educational expansion? Or is it to follow the path to which the national Council points—constantly cutting off from itself any group that shows itself sufficiently vigorous to earn from the enemies of education the title of "subversive," becoming increasingly narrow in its scope and autocratic in its form as it finds it necessary to check the discontent of its members?

What fate can such a union expect? Either it will become a pocket borough held by a self-styled leadership, or else it will go down in the whirlwind of hysteria at the hands of those very enemies of education whom it sought to appease by expelling some of its most vigorous elements.

Beyond this choice lies the fate of education in today's crisis. The locals under attack submit the simple proposition that they are in the front lines of a battle for the preservation and extension of a free and democratic educational system, and that a shot in the back at this time will merely remove the front line of defense. It will not abate the fury of the attack. The greatest needs of the American Federation of Teachers at present are unity behind a program for the defense of education in a crisis and courage to push the fight for education even when such defense invites attack.

CHARLES J. HENDLEY, President, Local 5 MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN, President, Local 192 ROBERT K. SPEER, President, Local 537

# Regulations for Conduct of the Referenda

Notice—Regulations 1 through 6 were sent out with the notice of referendum on February 28, 1941. Regulations 7 through 15 are new and in addition thereto. All regulations must be followed if the votes of a local are to be counted. Their purpose is to insure a full and fair vote.

1 The period from February 28 to March 31 is reserved for the proponents and opponents to debate the issues involved in these proposals.\* No balloting is permitted during this period.

2 All voting must be by the individual members of the local on the official ballot supplied by the National Office. (To be sent out March 31.)

The official ballots must be distributed to all members of the local together with a summary of the discussion (pro and con) of the proposed actions. The officers of the local are charged with this responsibility.

4 The individual ballots must be secret. Votes taken at a membership meeting will not be counted unless all members are present or supplied with ballots and all ballots after being marked by the individual members are pooled and opened at the same time. (See rule 11.)

5 The ballots of individual members of a local are to be tabulated by the local. The responsibility for the integrity of the ballot is placed upon the officers of the local.

All ballots together with the Official Tabulation (form to be provided) must be returned to the National Office by the date set, i. e. May 31, 1941. Unless both ballots and tabulation are sent in, the votes cannot be counted. (See rule 12.)

7 Local 5, Local 537, and Local 192 may each designate two persons who are members of the American Federation of Teachers to serve as official representatives at the opening and counting of the ballots at the National Office on Friday, June 6, at 10 A. M. Said locals shall notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the names of their representatives who shall present proper credentials in writing and under seal.

8 Each local which holds a membership meeting for discussion of the proposals shall give equal opportunity for proponents and opponents to present their arguments. (The Executive Council recommends that, where feasible, special membership meetings be held for the discussion of these proposals.)

9 No member or officer of a local is entitled to cast more than one ballot.

10 Upon request by the proponents or opponents in a local each or both shall be permitted to designate representatives to observe and examine the procedures followed in conducting the voting and be present at the opening and counting of the ballots of the local.

11 All locals shall keep a checklist of names of members showing that ballots were distributed to all members and the manner of sending the ballot to each member, (e. g. by mail or by building representative). The original checklist or a certified copy thereof shall be sent to the National Office with the ballots and tabulation of the local.

12 The ballots, tabulation sheet, and checklist of a local shall be securely tied together and plainly marked with the name and number of the local. The tabulation sheet shall be properly signed and under seal of the local. These shall be mailed to the National Office, American Federation of Teachers, Post Office Boxes No. 7110A—No. 7140A—No. 7170A—No. 7200A, Chicago, Ill., and shall bear a post mark not later than May 31, 1941.

13 Each local shall furnish to the National Office a descripton of the procedure used by it in conducting the voting in the local.

14 The officers of each local shall certify in the space provided on the tabulation sheet that the above regulations have been adhered to.

15 A majority vote of all members of the American Federation of Teachers in good standing whose ballots are cast in conformity with these regulations shall be necessary for the adoption of the propositions.

Irvin

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